WORKS IN PROGRESS

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PMR Necessity Defense voided by Tacoma jury

by Brendan Funtek and Nigel Weiss

Two years after a non-violent direct action blockade to stop an incoming Stryker Brigade convoy from entering Fort Lewis, a Washington state jury decision on Aug. 12 settled another notable moment in history for Port Militarization Resistance.

The decision found defendant Patty Imani guilty of a misdemeanor charge (disorderly conduct) in a case that included a high-profile, stellar cast of expert witness testimony. The defense featured testimony from Daniel Ellsberg – the Pentagon insider responsible for leaking The Pentagon Papers, which helped to turn public opinion against the Vietnam War – and Seth Manzel, Iraq veteran and co-founder of Coffee Strong (the local anti-war GI coffee house), among others. It was a trial that drew regional and national press attention, and was intended, in the words of Imani's defense attorney Larry Hildes, to "put the war on trial."

Imani was arrested during a non-violent direct action blockade on a highway exit near Fort Lewis in August of 2008, at which she and two others locked themselves together after midnight and stopped a truck-trailer carrying a Stryker vehicle as it approached the base. The soldiers from this particular Brigade had already returned from Iraq more than a month earlier, and the Strykers were being taken for repairs before redeployment. The vehicle, along with its police escort, was slowed to a halt on an I-5 off ramp that leads to the base by observers carrying flashlights near the resisters. Within 30 minutes, the activists were dragged from the road by Lakewood police and the Stryker-loaded convoy was on its way.

The ordeal was relatively quick, but its judicial culmination sought to answer larger questions about the legality and morality of the Iraq occupation, as well as the position the US public would take toward civil disobedience aimed at putting a stop to war.

Unlike most legal defenses, the case that Hildes presented began with an admission from defense that Imani had committed disorderly conduct. After Judge Margaret Vail Ross explained this fact during jury selection to the 15 juror candidates, many of the potential jurors were initially confused, four of whom then openly considered the case redundant – two of those four were selected for the final six-person jury – so

Imani vs State Defense Team - Photo by Judy Griffith
From Left to Right: Karen Weill, Lawrence Hildes, Daniel Ellsberg, Patricia Imani
Pierce County District Court, August 12th, 2010

Judge Ross further explained by using the common example of a defendant in an assault case claiming self-defense yet admitting to the assault.

Imani's defense, permitted in pretrial sessions by Judge Ross (a victory in itself since judges have a reputation for dismissing such stances), was that she disobeyed municipal law in order to uphold higher laws that obligate citizens to object to crimes against peace such as those perpetrated by the US in Iraq. This extraordinary argument allowed the trial to argue the merits of the defendant's intentions rather than simply determining whether or not the act in question was committed. Known as the 'necessity defense,' this legal method is used when someone has broken the law in order to prevent the commission of a greater harm, an oft-used example being if someone were to break into a burning building to save a person inside. The necessity defense was used in anti-war cases during the Vietnam War and other cases involving civil disobedience.

Under this atypical defense, Hildes had to show that Imani's intent was to prevent the greater harm that would be caused by the shipment of more military equipment to reinforce the occupation of Iraq. In arguing this, it had to be shown that the occupation constitutes an ongoing 'greater harm' than Imani's misdemeanor violation, and that she could have been reasonably sure that her actions would help to lessen the harm.

The defense presented testimony from a lineup of experts.

Larry Mosqueda, professor of political science at The Evergreen State College, took the stand to explain why civil disobedience is admissible in the context of the illegality of the Iraq War. Mosqueda frequently referenced his well-researched Feb. 2003 article "A Duty To Disobey All Unlawful Orders," which was admitted as evidence, yet was not available to the jury that was instructed to do

▸ **NECESSITY,** continued on page 10

The Olympia Food Co-op

Dialogue, politics and community

by Wally Cuddeford

On Thursday, August 12, Olympia Food Co-op members and concerned community residents alike packed into the Olympia Center for a public hearing with the Co-op's Board of Directors regarding their recent decision to implement a boycott on Israeli products. Co-op members were given priority admission, with non-member observers allowed to occupy only the remaining space in the room. Despite renting the largest room in the facility, 300 people still filled it to capacity, with crowds forced to stand around the walls, and lines of people waiting outside. Both exits were propped open for the overflow crowd to lean in and listen to public testimony on both sides of the boycott debate. On the printed handout, organizers asked speakers to limit themselves to two minutes each. Due to the sheer volume of feedback, this was immediately reduced to a minute and a half, and towards the end of the meeting, reduced further down to one minute. A facilitator was there to firmly enforce these limits. People were asked not to applaud or cheer, which would have stretched the hearing well into the night, but rather to express their approval for any speaker by waving their hands up in the air. In the end, 64 people said their piece that night, with 39 people (including myself) speaking in favor of the boycott, 22 people speaking against, and 3 leaving their positions unclear. In addition to the spoken testimony, the back walls were covered in large sheets of blank newsprint, allowing yet more commentary to be written down and delivered to the board later. Despite the passion felt on both sides of the issue, the event was mostly cordial, with only one outburst by an attendee who promptly left of his own accord.

One thing I didn't expect when all this started was that I'd find some of my friends on the "other side."

This hearing was the culmination of almost a full month of pickets, counter-pickets, canvassing, tabling, blogging, op-eds and letters to the editor, and all around discussions, both civil and heated, from all angles of the situation. Olympia BDS (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions) hosted its own public presentation advocating the BDS strategy, and has more events planned. The opposition group It's Our Co-op has hosted its own community forum as well. And all indications are, it's only just beginning.

Outside of brief introductions, the board members barely spoke, and did not address the boycott themselves. But they didn't have to. As one speaker

▸ **DIALOGUE,** continued on page 18

Letters to Works In Progress

Kind words from the Midwest

To all,

I just finished reading your August issue and wanted to tell you that it is one of your best. Many good articles, which I will share with others here in mid-America. I continue to be amazed that you put out such a newspaper with just volunteer help.

Good Work.

-Anne Cowan
Manhattan Alliance for Peace and Justice
Manhattan, Kansas

Anne Feeney is sick

Hi folks,

A dear friend of mine and many of you, Anne Feeney, rabble-rousing performer whom the late Utah Phillips called "the greatest labor singer in North America," is in the hospital in her home city of Pittsburgh with a large tumor in her chest. She's had to cancel tour plans and has incurred major expenses as a result of this situation. She does have health insurance, but she's already had to pay $6,000 just for co-pays and all that junk.

Please go to http://fellow-travelers-advisory.blogspot.com and send her encouragement and money.

-David Rovics

Boycott doesn't make sense

As a member of the food co-op in Seattle (PCC - Puget Sound Consumers' Cooperative), I was very interested in hearing the differences in results of our experiment with this subset in the early 1990s and what the Olympia Food Co-op was going through at this time. Therefore I attended the August 12, 2010 forum to discuss the pro and cons of a boycott against another democratic country - the only one in the Middle East at this time. This was quite different than our attempt in the 1990s against the top human right abusing country at the time and still today, the People's Republic of China. The result for the PCC was to not boycott China, as this would not make any dent for the leaders of that country, but would affect those farmers and entrepreneurs that will be able to help the country move towards a place more like our own. I met good friends at this meeting and made new ones, from the displaced Palestinian community, local co-op members, and other visitors like myself.

Before leaving I picked up the *Works In Progress* newspaper that was offered at the Olympia Center and just finished reading the interesting articles. Before I even read Cindy Sheehan's column I had to take a moment of silence in her son's memory for his great bravery in a questionable war where he gave all he could for our country. It was interesting to read that the publication is representing the rainbow coalition in Thurston County, while at the same time blasting one of the few safe havens in the middle east for the gay and lesbian community and where any choice religion is practiced freely without a concern of being persecuted. Unlike the challenge we had with China nearly 20 years ago, this makes little to no sense at all. If the boycott is based on violation of human rights, I could name so many countries in the world (including the USA) that are ahead of Israel, that in order to really follow through with the intent of this boycott, the Olympia Food Co-op should effectively remove all the items from their shelves and give their two locations back to the indigenous people that once occupied this area.

Even a boycott on China doesn't make sense at all. The best type of "boycott" that works is setting a standard of food quality that must be met in order to be accepted into the co-op in the first place. Since this already occurs, companies such as Coca-Cola, Dreyer's, and Dannon would need to seriously reformulate their recipes in order to qualify into the realm of food safe to consume and be provided in this sort of establishment.

In summary, I do believe that we can do much to further support our country to improve life for all, as well as our friends in places such as Israel, Norway, Morocco, Jamaica and Brazil, and this could be extended in a non-governmental way as much as possible to the good people living under tyranny in places such as Iran, Burma, China, Zimbabwe and Cuba. One needs to look no further than Cuba to see how a boycott even on the national level is completely pointless and doesn't work anyway. That doesn't change the fact that we can do other things to support those living in tough conditions in that country.

Thanks again for the otherwise very interesting articles in your newspaper, and I do hope you have the opportunity to visit Israel and Palestine to see how people are a lot more friendly to visitors and to each other than you would think from reading this paper.

-Haim Strasbourger
Federal Way, WA

Editor's note: Works In Progress *is not affiliated with and does not represent any Rainbow Coalition.* WIP *was first published by a now-defunct local chapter of Jesse Jackson's RC two decades ago.*

Someone should ask that question

You could have heard a pin drop.

Sharing a table with three of my co-workers, one starts talking about how Obama might not have wanted to defend the freedom of people to build religious buildings on private land. This was no "tea party" type, but someone who voted for Obama, himself a middle class 30 something African-American factory worker. I don't know if he was saying it to play devil's advocate or measure up the crowd or whatever. But I was the first to reply.

"Obama might not have said the thing everyone wanted to hear, but he said the right thing."

That still got people talking. Like one of our older co-workers. A guy who actually lived during the Civil Rights movement. He agreed with me and was explaining in the context of his own history of having seen churches being burned in his time about how it was not just wrong, but dangerous to get swept up in the mob mentality.

But leave it to me, the dumb white guy to really open it up in a frank manner and then silence the whole room.

"People can try to make this a Christian versus Muslim thing or an American versus Middle East thing, but do you think the average New York City citizen who is Muslim is even of Middle Eastern descent?"

That same middle class 30 something African-American factory worker, who grew up not here like the rest of us, but New Jersey says, "No man, most Muslims I knew from there were black."

To which I remarked, "Then that is how we should be talking about this. Why is it in the 21st century, we are letting people like Sarah Palin and Newt Gingrich get a say about if a church that will be used primarily by minorities, and of those, a large percentage of black people, can or should be built? Why do people of privilege who don't even live there get to destroy a church for people of color before it is even open? I wish someone would ask those folks on Fox News that one."

And everyone kind of stared at me, not quite sure what to say. I really think I fucked with their heads, hopefully in a good way.

I do wish someone would ask those folks that one.

-Sam Akami

Works In Progress Pizza Party was a great success!

Berd and Wally working away!
Photos by Bethel Prescott

Works In Progress had a wildly, wonderful time putting on the 1st Annual WIP Pizza Party (combined with the mandala repainting) at Fertile Ground Guest House last month. Folks enjoyed listening to Collective Love Unlimited and rubbing elbows with fellow progressives. And WIP made almost enough from the pizza party and donations from that evening to pay for this month's issue. That's a lot of dough!

A big thanks all those who attended. Support from the community was overwhelming, especially when Old School helped out by supplying additional pizza dough when the prepared dough ran out and Taryn Gearhart replaced *and* paid for the emptied pony of beer. Thanks also goes to the Olympia Food Co-op, blueberry people, and several others who donated money, food, and time to help it a very successful first annual event.

Now that we have this great experience under our belt, the 2nd Annual WIP Pizza Party is in our future. It'll be bigger and better, just you wait and see!

Works In Progress

ESTABLISHED IN 1990 BY THE THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

Works In Progress is a free, volunteer-operated progressive community newspaper based in Olympia, Washington. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of *Works In Progress* and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions

Please send text as Word attachments. Artwork and photos can be sent electronically or we can scan them for you as camera-ready/black & white.

Works In Progress is committed to stories misrepresented or ignored by the mainstream media. We value local, well-researched news stories, accounts of personal experience and reflections by local authors. Opinion pieces, also valued, are often best supported by facts, examples, and sources, and we encourage writers to include these elements to submissions. We also print some downright crazy and silly stuff, so send us your gonzo stories and push the boundaries, if you dare.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number. Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

If your issue isn't being covered in Works In Progress, *it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or haven't found someone else to cover it!)*

Send submissions to *olywip@gmail* or mail to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295.

Governing Tool

The following statement is part of the Editorial Policy and is the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause:

WIP *will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by* WIP *to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but* WIP *reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

Mission Statement

"Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. *Works In Progress* is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause

We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Back Issues

WIP is archived on microfilm by the University of Washington Library. Some issues are held in the Timberland Library system. The last five years are online at www.olywip.org

Workers In Progress

Colby Batts	Joe Martineau
Bullwinkle Berryhill	Joshua Neuhouser
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Wally Cuddlyford	Pat Tassoni
Christian DesMarets	Ryan Tompkins
Brendan Funtek	Diana Valenzuela
Ben Gus	Berd Whitlock
Teresa Jennings	Scott Yoos
Margaret Love	and room for more...

Cover photo by Mike Coday

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:
September 17
PO Box 295
Olympia WA 98507
olywip@gmail.com
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September 24
(Be there for the first read!)

Advertising Rates

olywip@gmail.com

7.25″	x	4.75″	. . . $125
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HOLY COW!!!

Apparently, a lot of people feel very passionately about Palestine and Israel! But unchecked crimes against humanity will do that.

At 28 pages, you're currently holding the largest non-anniversary issue in *WIP*'s entire 20 year run. But we managed to include nearly everyone who came to us for a voice on the Co-op boycott discussion.

A 16 page paper fits our monthly budget, so we've just spent for nearly two months. If you appreciate our coverage, please consider making a small donation, to help ensure that when the next emergency comes up, we don't find the coffers empty when we need them. (Or better yet, ask your employer to buy an ad!)

Make checks payable to "Works In Progress." Mail to PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

Jewish Oppression in Olympia

One Kike's Opinion

by Andras Jones

I'm a Kike. I can say it. You can't. Unless you're a Kike too, in which case, Kike it up baby! What's a Kike? A Kike is a Jew with an exclamation point. The word has been a racist slur against Jews for a long time, but I think it sounds tough. I was a mild mannered Jew, just wondering why things were so difficult for me, but this town and its siren song of a progressive matriarchal utopia coupled with it's absolute ignorance when it comes to Jewish Oppression transformed me into a flaming bull Kike. I claim the Riot Grrrls as my barometer for volume, and their feminist and queer precursors (aka: my mother/our mothers) as examples of recent revolutionaries who said, "Fuck you. I'm not gonna be pretty! And I'm not gonna be nice! I'm a bloody glorious mess just the way I am and I have no interest in changing myself to fit into your oppressive society!"

In this spirit, I've been Kike-ing it up something fierce at the Co-op since the boycott farce began a few weeks ago. Much as some would like all the loudmouthed Jews to stay away from the Co-op or keep quiet, I've not only continued to shop there, but I've been *talking* there too. It looks to me that to do otherwise would only assist the Jewish Oppression patterns at the Co-op in silencing the town's Jewish voice. So, I'm reclaiming the Co-op as a safe space to be a Kike.

How do I do this? I ask questions. It's such a Jewish thing to do. I ask the cashier how the boycott is going. This usually freaks people out, which, to me, looks like a sign of guilt. Why the staff or volunteers should feel guilty is beyond me. It was the board that put them in this uncomfortable (even oppressive?) position. If they're feeling guilty maybe it's because they have some confused or conflicted feelings about Jews that come from living in a society where Jews have been historically misunderstood and excluded. Some of them/you may even actually hate Jews. There's no way to know unless we ask questions.

> If you don't want to talk about Jewish Oppression, you'll never learn how it works, and if you don't know how it works, there's a good chance that you're going to act in ways that are oppressive.

That's why I have a second question that, though pretty simple, is one that very few people can actually answer...

"How does Jewish Oppression work?"

There are many possible correct answers to this question. There's only one wrong answer: denying that Jewish Oppression exists or is worth talking about. Unfortunately, it's the answer most Jews get when we bring up the subject. Oppression patterns don't dismantle themselves and if you deny that they exist when the people who are targeted by that oppression pattern are trying to point it out to you, then you are supporting the pattern. In short, if you don't want to talk about Jewish Oppression, you'll never learn how it works, and if you don't know how it works, there's a good chance that you're going to act in ways that are oppressive. This is what I see going on at the co-op right now and why I feel it's my civic duty to totally Kike things out to a level where the oppression pattern must be acknowledged and dismantled, not just at the co-op but at Olympia Film Society, KAOS and even *Works In Progress*, to name but a few local progressive organizations who have plenty of work to do in the area of relating to Jews in Olympia.

The question is, which of our local organizations is going to take the lead in dismantling this oppression pattern? I congratulate *WIP* for providing me a space to Kike these pages up as a first step toward unmasking Olympia's ignorance when it comes to Jews and Kikes alike.

Who's next?

Andras Jones is the host and creator of Radio8Ball, a musical divination show where participants' questions are answered by picking songs at random and interpreting the randomly chosen songs as the answer to the question. For more information, visit www.radio8ball.com.

Editor's note: *The headline is the author's creation, not* WIP*'s.*

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The Olympia Free Herbal Clinic is open again!

The Clinic has a new office space in downtown Olympia.

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In the White Building on 4th Avenue (across from the Reef and above Last Word Books) in Room 212. The entrance is to the right of Last Word Books. Our office is up the stairs, down the hall, and to the right.

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Biomass incinerator opponents face off against industry and state in Florida trial

by Meg Sheehan

Aug 25 – A trial being held this week in Gainesville, Florida, pits anti-biomass opponents against the state and an out-of-state company. Citizens are challenging a state agency approval of Gainesville Renewable Energy Center (GREC) incinerator, being proposed by the Massachusetts based international joint venture, American Renewables, LLC. The citizen leading the coalition, Dr. Thomas Bussing, former mayor of Gainesville, intervened to enter testimony in the trial in order to prevent harm to human health and the environment from the incinerator. The GREC incinerator will burn trees to make electricity.

Opponents of the incinerator assert that local residents, particularly children, will suffer harm from the toxic emissions generated by burning wood at the Gainseville site. Dr. Ron Saff, a medical doctor from Tallahassee, Florida who specializes in asthma, provided deposition testimony in the case. According to Dr. Saff, "the pollution from biomass plants causes asthma and heart attacks, cancer, shortens lives and poses a health risk to Gainesville residents."

According to the GREC permit application and the citizen petition, air pollutants from the incinerator will include particulate matter, including PM 2.5, polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs), acid gases, sulfur compounds, carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, PCBs and dioxin-like compounds. The opponents' expert testimony will show that these toxins are a danger to children and will become airborne and deposited on local residents and agricultural crops. Testimony will also show that the incinerator will violate state laws prohibiting objectionable odors, poses a risk of fires in the wood chip piles, and will emit dangerous greenhouse gases. The American Lung Association opposes wood burning biomass plants because of their public health impacts. People in the U.S. and around the globe oppose biomass incinerators because they harm the public health and make global warming worse. This week, activists in Scotland protested four environmentally destructive wood burning biomass incinerators by Forth Energy in Scotland. According to Campaign spokesperson, Meg Sheehan, "citizens everywhere are outraged that their taxpayer and ratepayer money is being used to subsidize the biomass boondoggle. These plants are promoted as 'clean and green' energy but they are neither. Instead, they emit toxic chemicals, burn forests, dry up rivers, and make climate change worse. The GREC facility will emit more carbon dioxide per mega watt than burning coal. The science and expert testimony shows the threats to the public health and environment and regulators need to act consistently with this science," she said.

Meg Sheehan is an attorney for the Massachusetts-based Biomass Accountability Project.

Who owns the Palestine-Israel conflict?

Reflections on BDS and the absurdity of "engaging with Jews"

by Phan Nguyen

Recently, two non-Jewish Co-op members wrote and circulated a letter entitled "Anti-Jewish Oppression, The Olympia Food Co-op and Israel." The letter echoed a common sentiment heard around town: Olympia needs to tend to its Jewish population, as they have been triggered and traumatized by the Olympia Food Co-op's boycott of Israeli goods.

According to the letter, "the conversation [within the Olympia community] should switch to one about anti-Jewish oppression, and away from Israel....at this point Israel and the Co-op's Board of Directors are a distraction. The conversation Olympia needs to have right now is about eliminating anti-Jewish oppression in Olympia.

"Invite local Jews to share stories of instances they've experienced anti-Jewish oppression. Let us all learn."

It is certainly valuable to learn from anti-Jewish oppression. However, within the context of the Co-op's boycott, such a step is neither straightforward nor necessarily warranted. Despite its ostensible rationality, the call to "engage with Jews" is contingent on three questions: *Which Jews? Why Jews in particular? And for what purpose?*

Such questions may seem petty and the answers self-evident. Yet the purpose here is not to minimize the role of Jews in the community but to widen the context, to broaden the concept of Jewish community and to encompass the voices of marginalized people in the broader Olympia community.

The following essay is neither a rejection of Jews nor a rejection of dialogue with Jews. The Co-op's boycott has forced many in the community to confront the Palestine/Israel issue for the first time. For many non-Jews unfamiliar with the issue, the instinctive response has been to defer to Jews.

Yet doing so implies that Jews collectively hold the key to the Palestine/Israel conflict—that they own the issue, either through their identity or through their visceral response to the issue.

Pursuing the three questions noted above, however, reveals that the request to engage with Jews is based on false assumptions that are tokenizing, restrictive, and ultimately marginalizing.

Which Jews?

Calls to engage with Jews assume that there is a monolithic or near-monolithic Jewish voice to defer to—one that feels oppressed by the boycott decision. This ignores all Jews who support the boycott and who have been oppressed specifically because of their support of the boycott. By distinguishing between boycott supporters and members of the Jewish community, these calls stereotype Jews as a whole and marginalize Jews who don't fit the stereotype.

This is not trivial. Consider the experiences of some Jewish boycott supporters within the past month:

- Received a torrent of hateful messages by email and phone—at home and at work
- Were subjected to epithets by other Jews, such as "self-hating Jew" and "kapo"
- Told by a local rabbi that "you are not a part of the Jewish community"
- Were perceived as race traitors
- Were told to be misrepresenting Jews
- Were dismissed by non-Jews as having opinions counter to "true" Jewish opinion on the issue
- Were lectured by non-Jewish "allies" about anti-Semitism
- Received 150 death threats
- Forced to leave home out of fear of the death threats

The situation became dire enough that at one point boycott supporters, Jewish and non-Jewish, seriously discussed providing safe houses for Jewish boycott supporters who may feel unsafe staying at home.

The "Anti-Jewish Oppression" letter, like all other calls to engage with Jews, completely ignores the experiences of these Jews. While other Jews may feel triggered or traumatized, these pro-boycott Jews have been faced with actual threats to their lives. To top it off, these Jews generally do not have the support of other Jews—that is, of Jews who oppose the boycott and who are most vocal about feeling unsafe. In light of a history of being persecuted, where does a Jew turn to when being persecuted by other Jews?

The purpose here is not to minimize the role of Jews in the community but to widen the context, to broaden the concept of Jewish community and to encompass the voices of marginalized people in the broader Olympia community.

One institution perceived as a central pillar of the Olympia Jewish community is the downtown synagogue, Temple Beth Hatfiloh (TBH). Yet TBH is not necessarily a safe space for pro-boycott Jews, either. Consider the following circumstances:

- TBH has hosted meetings of "It's Our Co-op," a group originally formed to rescind the Co-op's boycott.
- The core group of "It's Our Co-op" is comprised of some of the most prominent members of TBH, including the TBH rabbi, his wife, the former TBH rabbi, the two TBH co-presidents, and other well-situated TBH members.
- "It's Our Co-op" has used the TBH email list to send its announcements and calls to action against the boycott.
- The TBH rabbi has made several public statements opposing the boycott.
- Some prominent members of TBH are associating with StandWithUs, a notorious pro-Israel propaganda organization

The situation makes it difficult for a TBH member to be vocal about their support of the boycott. Some TBH members have previously left the congregation due to disagreements over Palestine/Israel. The continual anti-boycott sentiment around TBH means other pro-boycott Jews will remain silent out of fear.

The "Anti-Jewish Oppression" letter suggested involving "the leadership of the local Temple" in facilitating discussions around anti-Jewish oppression, a move that would ironically leave many pro-boycott Jews feeling more unsafe to speak out.

Additionally, news reports in the *Olympian* portray the battle over the boycott as the Olympia Food Co-op vs. the "Jewish community," implying that Jews are united in opposition to the boycott.

Now add to that the calls by non-Jewish "allies" for boycott supporters to proactively engage with the Jewish community—thus pretending that pro-boycott Jews don't exist—and one can see how pro-boycott Jews are marginalized and silenced by the media, by other Jews, and by non-Jewish "allies."

Why Jews in particular?

Calls to engage with Jews portray a dichotomous community composed of Jews and non-Jews. In this view, Jews feel unsafe, and thus it is the duty of non-Jews to tend to the sensitivities of Jews—all posed in an anti-oppression framework.

While this conception of "Jews" is too narrow because it rejects all Jews who support the boycott, the concept of "non-Jews" is too broad because it assumes everyone else is a privileged white non-Jew or someone who doesn't have as much of a stake in the Palestine/Israel conflict as Jews.

Most egregiously, it lumps Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians in the category of non-Jewish and renders them invisible.

Consider the experiences of Muslims and Arabs/Palestinians in our community within the past month:

- The August 12 Co-op community forum fell on Ramadan, thus limiting the number of Muslims who could attend. Muslims were not consulted before the date was established.
- Some Jews who have been active in opposing the boycott have criticized Muslims who support the boycott, claiming that these Muslims are harming Jewish–Muslim relations in the community. Thus it is acceptable for Jews to speak up in Olympia but "divisive" for Muslims in Olympia to do the same.
- The Palestinian experience is constantly disparaged by boycott opponents, reduced it to stereotypes of terrorism and anti-Semitism.
- Letters published in the *Olympian* perpetuate racist myths that Palestinians do not really exist. One July 28 letter referred to "so-called Palestinians" who are actually "refugees from other Arab lands, mostly Jordan," and who are being used to "ultimately destroy Israel." An Aug. 23 letter claimed that "Palestinians are a fabrication" of "a radical anti-Semite organization, as an attempt to control the Arab masses. Most are Jordanian and Egyptian with some Lebanese," posed as "a ready army of zealots."
- The Palestinian right of return, an important component of Palestinian diaspora identity (since Israel to this day refuses to acknowledge that it was responsible for the expulsion of Palestinians from their homeland), is attacked on purely "Jewish" terms—that is, the Palestinian refugee right of return is bad for the Jews and bad for the Jewish state. Palestinians pose a "demographic threat" to Israel, with no acknowledgment of Palestinian sensitivities about being seen as a racial threat to Jews.
- Anti-boycott activists condescendingly speak on behalf of Palestinians, claiming that Palestinians are "pawns" of Hamas, that they enjoy equal rights in Israel, and that Palestinian society mistreats women and queers. *But these boycott opponents never allow Palestinians to speak for themselves.* In reality, Palestinian organizations in Israel, Palestinian women's organizations, and Palestinian queer organizations have publicly expressed support for boycott, divestment, and sanctions on Israel.
- A racist leaflet is distributed at the Eastside Co-op and throughout downtown Olympia claiming that Muslims are savages who are intellectually inferior to Jews and that "the Arabs got the world by the balls."
- A recent cartoon in the Port Townsend *Leader* suggests that boycotting Israel is a Muslim plot to prevent food co-ops from carrying culturally Jewish foods such as bagels and lox.
- News reports about the boycott reference the Jewish community but rarely if ever mention Arabs, Muslims, or Palestinians. Jews are quoted at length, but no Muslims/Arabs/Palestinians are quoted.
- Non-Muslim, non-Jewish white "allies" call for deference to Jews, declare allyship with Jews, attend to the sensitivities of (certain) Jews, and absolutely ignore Arabs and Muslims in the community.

While other Jews may feel triggered or traumatized, these pro-boycott Jews have been faced with actual threats to their lives.

Muslims and Arabs have been and continue to be the most *public* and *acceptable* targets of *explicit* discrimination and racism today. Yet in Olympia, they remain invisible. No "ally" chooses to defer to them. No one else comes to their defense. While many in the Olympia community and in the media solicit the thoughts of Jews on the boycott, no one asks what Arabs and Muslims think. While the community is asked to be responsive to Jewish feelings, Arabs and Muslims are not recognized as having feelings or sensitivities at all.

The Co-op is faulted for not consulting with the "Jewish community" prior to implementing the boycott, but Arabs and Muslims are not worth consulting with.

And for what purpose?

What is the purpose of engaging with Jews over the boycott? That is, why should Jews be given deference over other demographic groups in the community around the boycott? The answer is self-evident only if one has a limited view of both the Olympia community and the Palestine/Israel conflict.

There are several possible answers, but all the answers are potentially tokenizing, stereotypical, marginalizing to other groups, and superficial:

1. Because Jews are hurt. They are traumatized, victims of centuries of oppression. The boycott is triggering. We must tend to their feelings.
2. Because the boycott has created divisiveness. We must heal the wounds and bring this community back together.
3. Because Jews are reasonable and moral people. If you engage with them, you can win them over to the righteousness of your cause and form a stronger movement.
4. Because they collectively hold power in this community. If you don't curry favor from them, they will destroy you. If you do engage with them, you will have a powerful ally.
5. Because they have strong ties to Israel. Israel is the Jewish state. Some of them have family there. The Palestine/Israel conflict is their conflict, not yours.

Space prohibits me from exploring all the rationales in depth, so the brevity of the responses below can only give a flavor to the complexity of these rationales. The point is that these rationales are not as simple and self-evident as one would expect.

1. As explained previously, anti-boycott Jews are not the only ones who are hurt and who have been triggered. The problem is when addressing hurt begins and ends with Jews, thus perpetuating the marginalization and pain of other par-

ties. This is discussed at greater length later.

2. "Divisiveness" by itself does not indicate the validity of a cause. It merely indicates a change from the status quo, where inherent divisiveness is more easily tolerated. The problem with the "divisiveness" argument in this context of the Co-op is it implies that the division is between Jews and non-Jews. Thus, healing the supposed rift with some Jews somehow ends the divisiveness with no regard for the feelings of Arabs and Muslims in the community, for example. The process of healing the rift and ending the divisiveness is actually evoked to pressure the Co-op to bend to the demands of a particular subset of Jews.

3. Claiming that Jews are a particularly reasonable and moral people is to me an inappropriate stereotype. Others may disagree. There is no reason why the same claim can't be made of other people. Why not Muslims? Arabs? Latinos? All peoples can help form a stronger movement.

4. It should be obvious that collective Jewish power is an anti-Semitic trope.

5. This claim invalidates Palestinians completely. Moreover it limits human rights to a tribal issue and gives deference to Jews. Because Israel supposedly means so much to Jews in Olympia, no one else has authority to criticize Israel. It implies that Palestinians are owned by Jews. It denies the fact that US funding and unconditional support of Israel's crimes means we are all complicit in Israel's crimes. The fact that some Olympia Jews have family in Israel implies that Israeli Jews are real people, while Palestinians remain an abstraction. It also ignores the fact that many Olympians have family and friends in Palestine.

Is my answer then to not engage with Jews? No. My point is that we cannot easily divide the community into "Jews" and "non-Jews." And it is neither simple nor inherently beneficial for the latter to dialogue with, listen to, or defer to the former out of a misguided concept of Jewish ownership. We must address the dynamics of our community as a whole and not marginalize the suffering of Palestinians or the voices of local Muslims and Arabs by making their rights contingent on the whims of a subset of Olympia's Jewish community.

I must emphasize that I am not opposed to engaging with Jews except when such an action is vague and reductive—tokenizing, stereotyping, and marginalizing to Jews and to others. There are additional problems that must be addressed, as follows.

Attacks on boycott advocates

Calls for boycott proponents to "engage with Jews" assume that proponents have the privilege of choosing to engage and deciding with whom to engage. The reality is different. In the past month, boycott proponents have had to defend themselves from an onslaught of vicious attacks. In addition to the attacks directed specifically against Jewish boycott proponents, advocates of the boycott have endured the following:

• Deluged by hateful and racist email.

• Targeted in a campaign by the racist organization StandWithUs, which accused us of being anti-Semites.

• Twice falsely accused in the Olympian of being paid outside agitators. One letter written by a prominent community member (and later retracted) accused us of being sent in by a mysterious international organization for "creating tensions and anger among community members and then moving on to their next effort leaving a broken community behind."

• Blamed for causing division, as if we were the ones who have made angry calls to the Co-op, accosted Co-op staff, or protested the Co-op outside its doors.

• Accused of "cheating" or not following process in order to push an agenda contrary to the Co-op's mission, when we were actually careful and deliberate about respecting the process.

• Subjected to attempts to shut down our public educational events by scaring the host venues.

• Subjected to various attempts to discredit us, for instance through the forwarding of our emails out of context.

• Faced with attempts to discourage a visit by Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb by defaming us in personal emails to her.

• Prevented from speaking about boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) at a US Social Forum (USSF) report back, despite the fact that BDS and Palestine solidarity were significant components of this year's USSF, with several resolutions passed in support from several Popular Movement Assemblies.

• Accused of being an international conspiracy

Boycott proponents have been targets of a blacklist in which other members of the community and other institutions are warned against associating with us. This has made it difficult for people to publicly express support for the boycott.

For the past month, people who have been campaigning in support of the boycott have had to defend themselves from continued malicious attacks. The fact that we are expected to listen to other people talk about how they feel hurt after we have been silenced and targeted by hateful attacks (by some of the same people who express hurt) demonstrates how incredible these calls to "engage with Jews" are.

Boycott proponents have also been accused of being privileged white activists taking on a fashionable cause. The irony of this accusation is that boycott proponents have repeatedly demonstrated more diversity than the boycott opponents. In fact, the core group of Olympia BDS organizers consists of Jews, Muslims, and other religious identities, with ethnicities ranging from South Asian, Southeast Asian, Arab, along with a handful of token white people. Yet our own diversity takes a back seat to the notion of an oppressed Jewish collective that we must answer to.

Allyship with Jews

When I first engaged in Palestine activism many years ago, I was conscious about being sensitive to Jewish feelings. I would listen carefully and never question the feelings of Jews who felt uncomfortable. I had numerous long talks with friends, acquaintances, and even strangers, and I expressed a sincere wish to acknowledge their feelings and understand their fears. I also hoped that by being sensitive and empathizing with hurt Jews, by trying to understand the difficult space they were coming from, these hurt Jews would then be more amenable to empathizing with Palestinian suffering.

Muslims and Arabs have been and continue to be the most public and acceptable targets of explicit discrimination and racism today. Yet in Olympia, they remain invisible.

Without excusing my own limitations in dialogue, I must say that all my sincere listening and acknowledging rarely if ever enabled a hurt Jew to recognize the suffering of Palestinians or to be amenable to activism on behalf of Palestinians. Listening through racist accusations against Muslims and Arabs, I only managed to affirm to hurt Jews that their feelings of insecurity trump the physical suffering of Palestinians.

While acknowledging that every person is different, a common attribute among Jews with an affinity toward Israel is this: For many Jews who are uncomfortable with Palestine activism, there is no way for them to see the Palestine issue without first stepping out of their comfort zone.

Acknowledging Israel's crimes will induce discomfort. It can be painful, triggering, and traumatic. As Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb mentioned when she visited Olympia, Israel for many Jews is "family." It's natural to react strongly when your family is criticized. It is difficult to accept that your family has been engaged in reprehensible acts. Even when you know that your family is doing wrong, it's difficult to accept criticism of your family from outsiders and easier to treat it as an internal affair. The problem is that it is not an internal affair. The fact that it oppresses another people, and the fact that it is encouraged and supported by our own government, makes it everyone's affair and everyone's responsibility.

The problem with non-Jewish "allies" is this: When they see certain Jews feeling hurt over criticism of Israel, they equate the hurt with oppression against a target group. They call on the supposed agents of oppression, the critics of Israel, to cease. The perceived role of the ally is to end the hurt and the triggering and to reintroduce comfort for the target group.

In reality, this "allyship" enables oppression. It prevents hurt Jews from having to confront a difficult reality that their "family" is oppressing another people. It forces Palestinian human rights to be considered only on "Jewish" terms, implying that Jews somehow own the Palestinians. And it marginalizes the voices of Arabs and Muslims.

Thus it reduces a political reality with human consequences—in which Israel is continuing its process of expulsion of indigenous non-Jews with the support of the US—into an issue of Jewish feelings in Olympia, Washington. In this framework, fighting for human rights for Palestinians cannot proceed until Olympia's Jews permit it.

As long as "allies" enable hurt Jews to stay in their perceived safety bubble and regulate Palestine activism, they perpetuate the oppression that is manifested through human rights abuses in Palestine.

Those concerned with anti-oppression work and allyship must appreciate the following tenet: Sometimes the party most visible and most vocal about being oppressed is not necessarily the party most oppressed. Quite often the most oppressed party is the one you don't hear or see.

The limitations of dialogue

The "Anti-Jewish Oppression" letter called on the community to "[i]nvite local Jews to share stories of instances they've experienced anti-Jewish oppression. Let us all learn." Unfortunately, my experience in dialogues with hurt Jews is that the conversation rarely focuses on experiences of oppression. Instead, the dialogues become lectures to activists on why they should not criticize Israel.

Listening through racist accusations against Muslims and Arabs, I only managed to affirm to hurt Jews that their feelings of insecurity trump the physical suffering of Palestinians.

Here are common accusations made against Palestine activism in such dialogues:

Accusing activists:

Activists must be scrutinized for their true intentions (after all, no one could really care about Palestinian human rights).

Activists are accused of being one-sided (as if activism can be neutral).

Activists should only be allowed to criticize Israel within parameters laid out by Israel supporters.

Activists are naïve and have been brainwashed and duped by conniving Arabs.

Activists are only allowed to accept a two-state solution (as if a two-state solution is around the corner).

Activists are forced to accept the vague declaration of "Israel's right to exist."

Activists are lectured on what to do if they really cared about human rights (even though the lecturer does not engage in what they suggest).

Activists are told that they should work on some other cause (even though the lecturer does not work on that cause).

Non-Jews do not have a stake in the issue.

Accusing Arabs/Muslims:

Palestinians are to blame for their own suffering.

Arabs/Muslims mistreat women and queers (which, if true, makes it okay for Israel to mistreat all Arabs and Muslims—female, queer, or otherwise?)

Here's what Arabs/Muslims think and what they really want.

Palestinians are victims of the their own leaders or pawns of the greater Arab world

Hamas, Hamas, Hamas.

Excusing Israel:

The suffering of Palestinians is overrated.

Palestinians enjoy great freedoms in Israel (thus condescending to Palestinians by speaking on their behalf).

Criticizing Israel's actions promotes anti-Semitism (yet Israeli actions themselves don't promote anti-Semitism?).

"Israel is a democracy," "Israel is technologically advanced," and other non sequiturs.

You're singling out Israel.

You are not allowed to work for Palestinian human rights until you tackle all the other problems in the world first.

Palestinian terrorism justifies Israeli actions.

Both sides are wrong, therefore you should support Israel.

Inaccurate history lessons and gross factual errors designed to excuse Israel.

It's a complicated issue.

The point is that most dialogues about Palestine/Israel rarely focus on oppression, with Jews explaining their hurt and where the hurt comes from. What we learn from these dialogues is that the hurt some Jews feel are closely intertwined with political disagreement. The intersection between Jewish hurt feelings on the Palestine/Israel conflict and political disagreement, Islamophobic/anti-Arab stereotypes, nationalist advocacy, and misinformation cannot be underestimated.

Anti-Semitism is real and must be confronted. But we must acknowledge that when it comes to Israel, many accusations of anti-Semitism are based on stances that minimize Palestinian suffering at best and impede a solution to the conflict or encourage Palestinian suffering at worst. It puts the onus on people who dare work for human rights to prove that they are not anti-Semitic. This is not about pride or principle. This is about trying to get human rights work done and not be derailed into a discussion about whether one has permission from the local synagogue to criticize Israel.

Progressive Except for Palestine

Another argument is that there are Jews who are politically progressive, even radical, and their political leanings mean they should be listened to.

First, it is important to acknowledge that being progressive on other issues

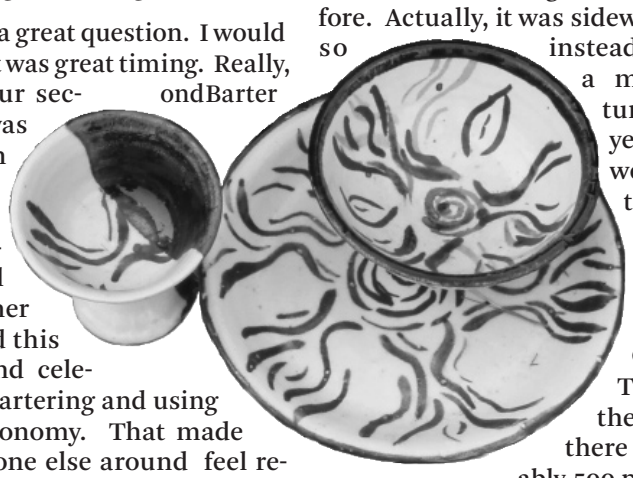
▸ **OWNERSHIP,** continued on page 24

Fourth Annual Olympia Family Barter Faire will be held September 10th through the 12th

Works In Progress *interviewed Carrie Ziegler and Christopher Harbin of the Olympia Family Barter Faire.*

WIP: The Barter Faire was first held in 2007, the beginning of what people call the "Great Recession." Was the fair a reaction to the souring economy or was it just incredibly good timing?

Carrie: That's a great question. I would definitely say it was great timing. Really, particularly our second Barter Faire, which was in 2008, when the recession was really just getting horrible, we all came together and just found this huge relief and celebration with bartering and using alternative economy. That made me and everyone else around feel really rich to know that we had all these different resources while the economy was going down.



WIP: Was that a part of building community?

Carrie: Definitely. The Barter Faire is all about creating community. Our number one goal is to build community along with finding resources and utilizing people skills to bring people together.

Chris: Part of my vision of the faire, which I think it shared by many, is to expose the richness in community and the wealth and the resources we have; something outside this financial system we've been locked into for so many years. We're creating those alternatives, slowly but surely, in little small steps.

WIP: Have you noticed in the last couple of years whether the Barter Faire is growing?

Carrie: I would say that the net worth of those interested in bartering has grown substantially and continues to grow. People are looking for different ways to get what they need.

WIP: Last year the attendance was...

Carrie: The attendance was about the same. This is an outside event and the weather was not as good as the year before. Actually, it was sideways raining, so instead of having a much larger turnout as the year before, we had about the same.

Q: How many would that be?

Carrie: Throughout the weekend, there were probably 500 people. This year, especially if the weather is good, we're expecting a huge increase in the number of people who show up.

Chris: Maybe double.

Q: A lot of people are familiar with Crag's List, Ebay, yard sales, and swap meets. How does the Barter Faire compare? What would people discover that would keep them coming back year after year?

> What you get are real connections with people in an amazing environment where there is music and dancing, and everyone is having a fabulous time.

Carrie: I would say that what the Barter Faire gives you is a real celebratory place to exchange goods and skills. It compares to the others in that you are look for something, you find it, and you take it away. But the difference is that it gives you real connections to people. Unlike, "Hey I'll give you five buck for that" then take the thing, when bartering two people have two different items, and the value of each item is considered in a different way. You look at the time put in to it and the material and you get to know the person. What you get is real connections with people. In particular, connections with people in an amazing environment where there is music and dancing, and everyone is having a fabulous time.

Chris: I agree, there is something to be said for a face-to-face hand shake. When you make a trade or you make a deal with anybody in the circle, suddenly you're there being responsible for what you are offering and your shared agreement.

Carrie: People leave the Barter Faire with so many stories. One person I remember at the end of an event had gotten a sarong. He had gone through a whole series of barters to get it. He had bartered some Kim-chee for something, and then bartered that for something else and so on with this whole build up just to get this one sarong that I don't know what he would do with. So there are these stories people bring away which are very precious.

Chris: I recently heard on Craig's List that some guy that started bartering with a paper clip and turned it into a Porsche eventually. It's more like that story, but on a community based level.

Carrie: And you have kids bartering, too.

Chris: Kids are the best barterers!

Carrie: They can often barter an item like a paper clip and come away with some very nice treasures.

WIP: For most Americans, bartering seems to be difficult. I've never bartered and my greatest fear, if I were to barter, would be that I would give more than I would get. What has your experience been?

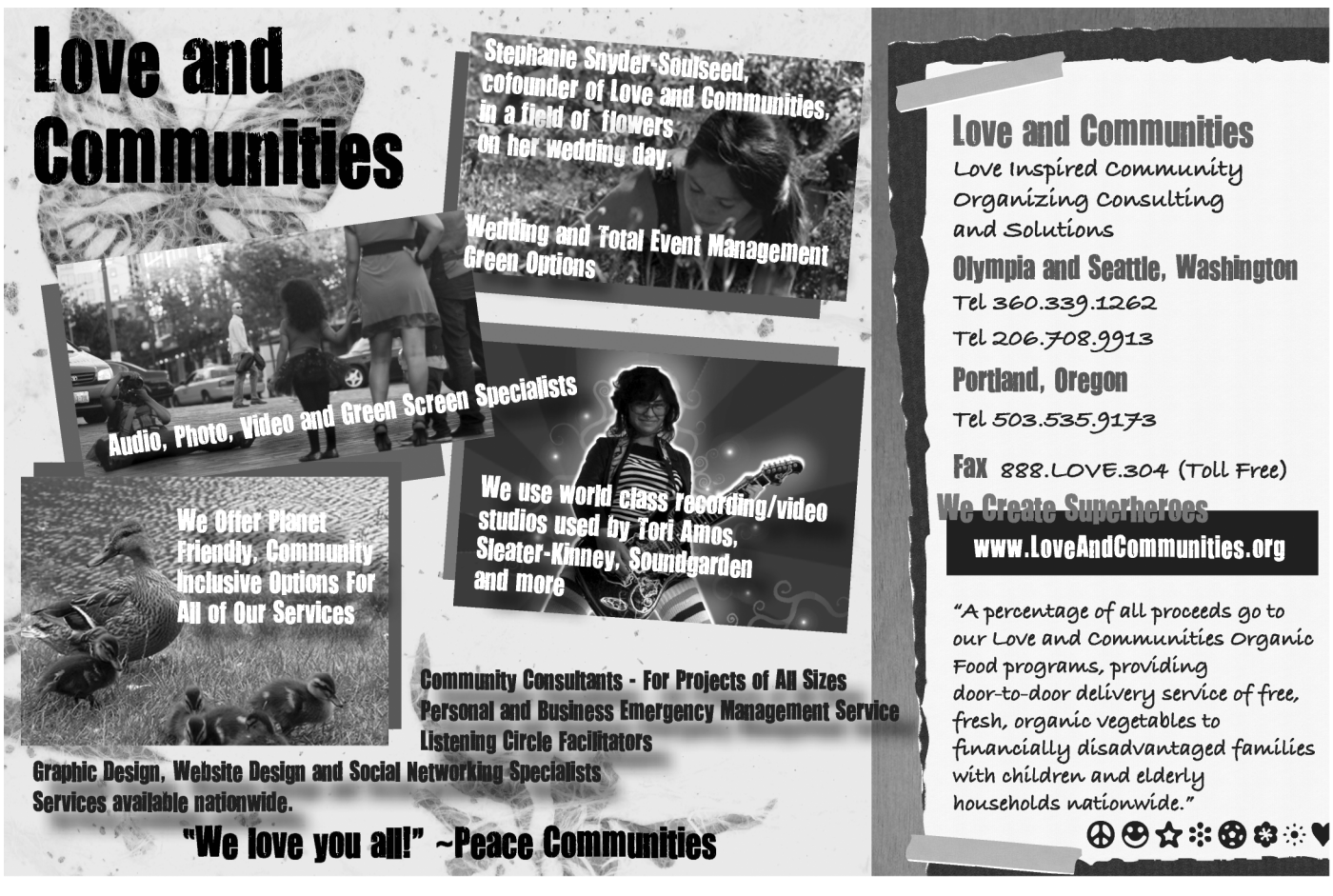
Carrie: The barters that I have personally made, I've come away feeling really good about. When you're at the Barter Faire, you're in an environment that is set up for that kind of transaction. It is sometimes hard to say "no" to somebody if they want to barter something you don't really need, but you just have to look at it a little differently. If the person really wants what you have, and you don't want what they have, you can get a 3rd party involved. For instance, maybe you have some great jewelry, but what I really want is a jar of honey. You might be able to barter your jewelry for the honey, then barter the honey with me for that ceramic mug you really want. There are all sorts of different ways to make a good trade offer.

Things to Bring

- drinking water
- camping gear
- your barters, trades, items for sale
- the family
- musical instruments
- skill
- Peace
- come prepared...

Sorry, the following are not allowed

- fireworks
- glow sticks
- dogs (except service dogs)
- drugs or alcohol
- guns
- generators
- plastic junk
- bad vibes
  (don't worry, be happy)


Love and Communities
Stephanie Snyder-Soulseed, cofounder of Love and Communities, in a field of flowers on her wedding day.
Wedding and Total Event Management Green Options
Audio, Photo, Video and Green Screen Specialists
We use world class recording/video studios used by Tori Amos, Sleater-Kinney, Soundgarden and more
We Offer Planet Friendly, Community Inclusive Options For All of Our Services
Community Consultants - For Projects of All Sizes
Personal and Business Emergency Management Service
Listening Circle Facilitators
Graphic Design, Website Design and Social Networking Specialists
Services available nationwide.
"We love you all!" ~Peace Communities
Love and Communities
Love Inspired Community Organizing Consulting and Solutions
Olympia and Seattle, Washington
Tel 360.339.1262
Tel 206.708.9913
Portland, Oregon
Tel 503.535.9173
Fax 888.LOVE.304 (Toll Free)
We Create Superheroes
www.LoveAndCommunities.org
"A percentage of all proceeds go to our Love and Communities Organic Food programs, providing door-to-door delivery service of free, fresh, organic vegetables to financially disadvantaged families with children and elderly households nationwide."

Q: So it's not so cutthroat...

Chris: I would say the ambiance of the Barter Faire is a very trusting environment, to say the least.

Q: So people are a little more trustworthy, they'll tell you when you're giving them too much?

Carrie: I feel that is the case.

Chris: Trustworthy and honest, yes.

Carrie: There *are* all kinds, but I feel people are pretty open. It's a different value system than you would use if you went into a store like Wal-Mart because you would never buy one cup, let's say, for its true value. I'm a potter, so I really look at what the true value of what an object is. "Oh, that took you three hours of your time to make and there aren't too many sources." So you can really discuss it.

Chris: I think that is a really important statement, Carrie, placing a *true value* on items is something that is so overlooked in how we express our sense of success and the pricelessness of handmade crafts.

Of course, the Barter Faire is not restricted to only handmade crafts, but handmade crafts, including food and clothing are highly promoted as bartering items. Money is allowed as well, but we promote as much bartering as possible.

When I go into stores and I see how cheaply I can buy things at Grocery Outlet, I do have some guilt shopping there because we're put in this economic stance where we kind of need to shop there to survive anymore. Yet that comes at a cost: the exploitation of somebody else from this country or another. That's the only reason these items are practically given away at such low prices. Once again it is distraction from your community and what community does. As Carrie said before, [the Barter Faire] brings people face to face and allows people to take responsibility and have pride in what they have created.

Q: When I was young and went to the Puyallup fair every September, it was an absolute must every year to ride the roller coaster and eat Fischer scones. What are the absolute must do's at the Barter Faire?

Carrie: Well, I would say one thing is to make sure that you check out the music. There is going to be some amazing live performances. Also, different entertainers will be there. I'd say you must stay late and join in a music making circle.

Chris: Absolutely.

Q: That's interesting. How does that work?

Carrie: It's a weekend camping event, so people are there all weekend long. At certain times we have bands that play and that kind of thing, but people love campfires, and they bring instruments such as drums and guitars and kazoos, and we sing and dance. We come together around the camp fire and play music free style, sing songs, and have drum jams. It is so much fun and really builds a sense of community and ownership. People just make the most amazing, home-grown music.

Q: So if you are tone deaf, can you just sit and listen?

Carrie: Definitely.

Chris: Yes, you can.

Carrie: You can sit and listen, you can dance, you can just enjoy the whole thing.

Chris: Everyone seems to gravitate to the music and everyone wants to share in it. We do promote it as a festival environment as well here. We're celebrating our community.

We're also looking for some more impromptu theater groups this year and we're going to have some juggling, fire dancing, and possibly some acrobatic style entertainers as well. This is also a learning environment. We promote skill shares workshops, opportunities to for people to learn various things: Kimchee making, how to fly a tarp...

Q: How do you fly a tarp?

Carrie: You have to come to the Barter Faire!

Chris: Yah!

Carrie: I would say people need to participate in the music making, take a workshop, and get a pastry from 8-Arms Bakery.

Q: One last question, what would you swap for some ad space in *Works In Progress*?

Carrie: What does *Works In Progress* need?

Q: Money.

Chris and Chris: (laughter)

Chris: We need to run it by the board, but I think we could at least save *Works In Progress* the entry cost to the Faire.

Carrie: I would say we can definitely give *Works In Progress* a table with a free pass.

Chris: Absolutely, a table with a free pass.

Q: That sounds like a good barter to me.

> I really look at what the true value of what an object is. "Oh, that took you three hours of your time to make and there aren't too many sources. "

Tickets

All three days . . $30 each ($25 in advance)
Ages 15 and under are free.
One day . . . . . $15 each Ages 15 + under free
People under 18 must be accompanied by an adult.

Gate Hours:

Friday: Open at 12 noon and close at Midnight.
Saturday: Open at 8:00 am and close at 8:00pm
Sunday: Open at 8:00am and close at 3:00pm

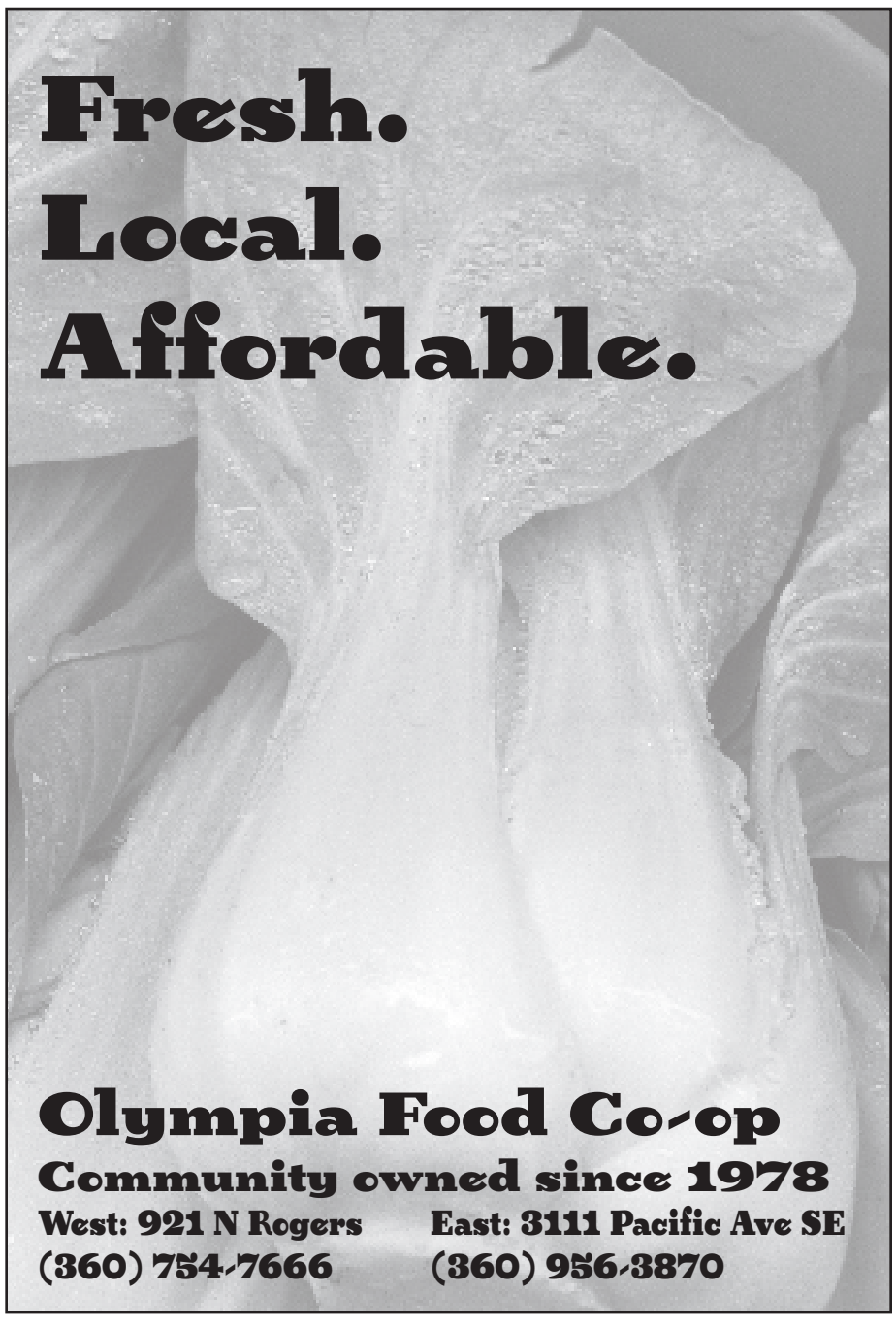
The Kids' Area

- yoga,
- face painting,
- sing alongs,
- wilderness awareness
- nature crafts

Entertainment

- Two main acts Friday/Saturday evenings 7-11.
- Oly's original Collective Love Unlimited (progressive hip hop)
- Also fire spinning, dancing, and other merry minstrels.
- Sunday is open stage and there is always players round the camp fires.

For more info -- www.oly-wa.us/OlyBarter



Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb supports the Olympia Food Co-op boycott

Human rights for all peoples, an evolving concept

by Mike Coday

On August 8, Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb spoke to a standing-room only crowd at First Christian Church. The crowd actually spilled outside the meeting room as people stood outside the door and listened to Rabbi Lynn talk about why she supports the Olympia Food Co-op's decision to join the Boycott, Divestment and Sanction (BDS) movement.

Rabbi Lynn is a remarkable person and a powerful speaker. Gottlieb is one of the first eight women ordained as a rabbi. She broke the ground for women to become rabbis and she understands the pressures of speaking the truth and the conflict that arises when truth is spoken. Gottlieb is from Albuquerque, New Mexico and now resides at the Community for Living Traditions, about 30 miles outside New York City. Lynn is a 40-year veteran of the fight for human rights. She has been with the Fellowship of Reconciliation for 36 years. Gottlieb was not on a speaking tour or selling any books. She came to Olympia on the specific request of the Olympia Fellowship of Reconciliation to speak to the community about the boycott movement. Gottlieb was in Israel and Palestine most recently in June 2010.

I am a 40-year veteran of this conflict. I want to share my personal reasons why I decided to come out in support of the boycott.

The following is my attempt to capture through notes some essence of Rabbi Lynn's presentation to the crowd. As best I can, I will try to use Rabbi Lynn's words as I got them in my notes:

Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb: "First, I want to frame the conflict. There is a lot of tension in Olympia around the Co-op's decision to join the boycott of Israel goods. I am a 40-year veteran of this conflict. I want to share my personal reasons why I decided to come out in support of the boycott. Most importantly, I want to share my journey to the place where I am standing.

"I spent my senior year of high school in Israel. I took military preparation training during that year of high school. I am also a sixth generation American. I speak Hebrew fluently. I went to Hebrew College in Israel and since 1972 I have been working to re-frame the conflict between Israel and Palestine. I have spent many years now taking delegations to Israel and Palestine. I have a perspective. I am not neutral.

"In my life, I have had to learn how to deal with conflict and with conflict that comes with lots of emotion. My work to seek acceptance of women as Rabbis was the source of lots of conflict. And when I was ordained as a Rabbi, I became a conduit for women's issues, for issues of domestic violence, of the feminist struggle.

"My teacher was instrumental in persuading Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel to join Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. in the Selma Civil Rights March. (EDITOR: A couple of Rabbi Heschel quotes: "When I marched in Selma, my feet were praying." and "Above all, the prophets remind us of the moral state of a people: Few are guilty, but all are responsible." - pull quotes or important facts/points to accompany the piece)

"I prefer to think about the Civil Rights movement as the campaign for human rights of African-Americans. This is my frame, a frame of human rights and learning activism, a real activism, of waging peace through campaigns that reach back to the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. My constituency includes youth from Philadelphia. Many local young African-Americans call it 'Killadephia.' There is a break of faith with these young people. This is a racist country. You might not know it if you have no direct connection, no meaningful relationship with human beings directly affected by the racism. Shall we say that every white person in the US is a racist? We live in a society in which more black men are in jail than are in college. So we elect an African-American to be President. It's wonderful, but we still have so far to go. How can you be a white American and not think about racism. How does a person of privilege, a white person, address this? How do we recognize and address the dynamics of oppression?

"Another of my constituencies is the Palestinian people. When you go to Israel as a tourist, you can get get a map of the country with your rental car. The map of Israel stretches from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River. There is no Palestine, there is only Israel. Tourists will get the impression that there are a few dangerous places in Israel, places you shouldn't go, but there is no Palestine on these maps. Think about that.

"In 1948, 400 Palestinian villages were destroyed. People fled with their children. They fled with the keys to their homes. Many Palestinians in refugee camps today still have the keys to their home, but their homes, the olive orchards, their way of life from 1948 is gone. These are the facts on the ground. The continuous seizing of land since 1948 leaves 50 or some separate Palestinian cantons. Every day there is land seizure going on and every day the appropriation of land makes the two-state solution less viable.

"When you flee your home under military assault, you become a displaced person. You no longer have access to water, electricity, sewers. If you are injured or shot by Israeli security forces, you can bleed to death within a mile of a hospital or medical clinic. This is not a rare experience for Palestinian families. The wall, the checkpoints, the isolation of Palestinian communities, and the denial of access to the olive orchard lands that are the economy of Palestinian families leave these human beings crowded into bleak urban communities. And around every Palestinian community, there is Israeli settlement growth occurring that guarantees the further isolation of each Palestinian community. And this is done with US tax dollars. It is US tax dollars that are displacing the Palestinian people. US tax dollars fund all of it.

"There is some profound denial going on with the opponents of this movement."

"The Israeli settlements have electricity, sewers, water, fountains, pools and the Palestinian community on the other side of the wall can go for days without water available. When I take delegations to visit these communities, Palestinian families will brew coffee for the visitors, using precious water to welcome a visitor, to show hospitality and friendship. Think about that.

"There are two streams of thought common among Palestinians with regard to their struggle for basic human rights, for dignity. The first is a commitment to non-violent struggle and the second is influenced by the success of Algeria in the 1950s in forcing the French to leave through armed struggle. The stream of thought for armed struggle reaches back to Cuba's revolution, to Che, to the armed struggle of the Vietnamese people in resisting the occupation of the French, and then the invasion by the United States. But no Palestinian in their right mind believes they can defeat Israel through armed struggle. Israel is the fourth or fifth strongest military force in the world. They are a nuclear power.

Gottlieb

"The First Intifada was a demonstration of a non-violent struggle against Israel. The goal was to force negotiation and it led to the Oslo Accords, but since the Oslo Accords settlements have doubled, there are more detentions, more home demolitions. The failure of 14 treaties including the Oslo Accords to stop Israeli seizure of Palestinian land produced another wave of armed struggle.

"But things changed in 2005 when the World Court declared the Israeli wall illegal and Palestinian communities have turned back to the non-violent struggle. The question is what the most effective way is to continue their non-violent struggle for human rights."

"But things changed in 2005 when the World Court declared the Israeli wall illegal and Palestinian communities have turned back to the non-violent struggle. The question is what the most effective way is to continue their non-violent struggle for human rights. Because it is impossible for Palestinians to win an armed struggle with Israel, there is only the non-violent struggle for human rights, for justice, through political means such as the boycott that Palestinians have called on us to join.

"Thousands of Israelis have joined and support the Palestinian boycott from within Israel. And we have to decide if we will join the boycott.

"My personal journey took me to dialogue. Decades of dialogue. I was all about dialogue. But at some point you have to listen to the cries of the people for international solidarity. How do we not join this boycott and answer the call, as thousands of Israelis have done?

"This is simply an ethical question. This is a religious question. I cannot derive benefit or pleasure from products made on occupied lands, I cannot benefit or derive pleasure from products of oppression.

"This system works. Economic boycotts helped to end segregation in the United States, we still have so far to go. Boycotts and divestment helped end Apartheid in South Africa. Agreeing to honor the Palestinian plea to boycott the products of oppression is something I must do. I must join and support this boycott.

"Let's talk about security. What makes a people secure? How do you create security for all the people in a geographic area? The way we do it is through the framework on human rights. Standing up for human rights. That's how we do it.

"If people stand back because they don't like conflict, this just leaves those who stand isolated. Those of us who have seen the suffering first-hand, and can't stand back. Those of us who have friends who have lost family members to this conflict, and who can't stand back, you leave those of who stand up for human rights, who stand up to stop the suffering, if you don't stand up with us, you leave those of us who have to stand up isolated. Please think this through and decide what you can do.

"Suicide bombings are a reality. Hamas rockets are a reality, but there is no wall high enough to keep out hatred and there is no wall strong enough to keep out love."

Rabbi Lynn took the following questions from the audience and provided the following answers:

Are general boycotts the best tool to create peace and security? What about targeted boycotts?

Rabbi Lynn: I say fine. Target a boycott at a company like Caterpillar. But, was the Montgomery bus boycott a targeted or general boycott? Was the South African boycott a targeted or general boycott? Do what you can.

Do the Israelis have a right to defend themselves against violence?

Rabbi Lynn: Of course they do. Everyone has a right to defend themselves

against violence. A better question is what is the best way to defend yourself?

But if you watched the slide show that we just ran, it is clear that this is not about self-defense, this is about land seizure. The US and now the Obama administration have not been able to enforce the 14 peace treaties that are supposed to protect basic human rights. That is what the boycott is about. Do you remember the slide of the people of al Arakib crying as their homes were demolished in the Negev last week? That was not about self-defense, that was about land seizure.

How do we cultivate a heart of compassion toward our opponents? What can we say to people who think this boycott is too harsh [and] will somehow create more suffering instead of less?

Rabbi Lynn: There is some profound denial going on with the opponents of this movement. The first, most basic level of this denial presents as: It's not happening. A denial of the reality of the land seizure, the denial of basic human rights, access to water, to medical care. A second level of this denial is that the conflict is about process, or Jewish oppression, or that the Palestinians brought this on themselves. There is profound denial at work here.

How we work with grace, work to maintain relationships, to keep healing in mind, and still continue to speak the truth? How can we avoid tokenizing Jewish support for this struggle?

Rabbi Lynn: There are 100,000 Jews involved in the Jewish Voice for Peace. There is an American and international Jewish community that this committed to peace, to human rights for the Palestinian people. More than a million Jews have left Israel. 60 Rabbis signed on to the Goldstone report. There is no need to be concerned about token support, there are many, many Jews who are already involved and committed to this work.

It takes grace to maintain relationships. I can think of one Rabbi who has heard what I have to say on these issues and did not speak to me for twelve years. I continued to speak kindly and truthfully to him and about him. I continued to speak the truth about the situation in Israel and Palestine. After twelve years, he spoke to me and said, you may have a point.

We have to be gentle with others. And we have to be gentle with ourselves. There is so much to do, we have to maintain relationships to keep going. We have to find the language to speak about what is happening to the Palestinians without using language that frightens Jews.

40 million people were displaced by war last year. 70 million people are expected to be displaced by global warming next year. There is so much we have to do. May we recognize each other as brothers and sisters and do the work to guarantee human rights for all human beings.

If you want to know more, I suggest looking at www.whoprofits.org

If you haven't seen it, watch the seven story documentary: *Have you Heard from Johannesberg?* www.clarityfilms.org

Shalom,

Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb

Freedom Flotilla

The breakthrough that made the world see Israel's cruelty in Gaza

The following is an excerpt from the just-released book, Midnight on the Mavi Marmara, edited by Moustafa Bayoumi (O/R Books, 2010).

The Freedom Flotilla was not able to deliver its 10,000 tons of humanitarian aid to the besieged Gaza Strip, but it accomplished something more important -- it finally broke the blockade on the world's understanding of the Gaza crisis. The Israeli attack on the flotilla must be seen alongside the Israeli attack on Gaza in the winter of 2008-2009 as marking the period in which the world's understanding of the Israeli occupation irrevocably shifted. In this opening, the brutality of the Israeli occupation came into full view and the issue of Palestinian persecution was placed on oped pages and even legal briefs. In the end, these events may mark when the age of Israeli impunity came to an end. In a generational sense, Operation Cast Lead and the flotilla attack can be understood as the anti-1967 war. It was the 1967 war that helped solidify Israel's image in the eyes of the world, and in particular of American Jewry, as the scrappy underdog beating the odds. That image has now changed forever, and the ongoing siege of Gaza has caused many to consider what Zionism has built in the Middle East. The Goldstone report stands as the defining indictment of this era.

The report, which found that both Israel and Hamas committed war crimes and possible crimes against humanity, specifically includes the persecution of Gaza, highlighting cases where Israel intentionally attacked civilian infrastructure, including water wells, chicken farms, and the last operating flour mill in the Strip. Not surprisingly, the report and Goldstone himself became the targets of unrelenting criticism and vitriol because it pulled back the curtain on Israeli actions.

For those who harbored doubts about the Goldstone report's findings, those doubts were dispelled by the flotilla attack. The killings on the Mavi Marmara vindicated Goldstone's reading of Israeli methods. And note that the Israeli defense of its actions is exactly the same as its defense of its actions in Gaza: We had a right to cross international lines, we got severe provocation, supposed civilians were actually combatants, no country would permit this situation to endure, we defended ourselves, just look at the video. In Gaza the Israelis killed 1,200-1,400 with minimal loss of life on the Israeli side; and the numbers were imbalanced on the Mavi Marmara as well.

And now the efforts to smear the activists on the boats as jihadists, which the *Washington Post* and other American outlets have taken up with energy, recall the efforts to portray the Gazans as a crazed, extremist population.

The vindication for Goldstone is that anyone with eyes in her head knows that there was something terribly wrong with the flotilla action--as anyone with eyes knew that there was something wrong about the Gaza onslaught. But at that time the West was still in denial, and the Israeli-American dismissal of the Goldstone report can now be seen as a defensive effort to cover up atrocities. Who can question Goldstone's conclusions now: that Israel targeted civilian infrastructure disproportionately, and without distinction between civilians and resisters? Israel has once again shown us the playbook.

The vindication for Goldstone is that anyone with eyes in her head knows that there was something terribly wrong with the flotilla action--as anyone with eyes knew that there was something wrong about the Gaza onslaught.

This awareness was seen in a shift in the discourse surrounding the flotilla attack, especially online as Internet journalists, led by Ali Abunimah, repeatedly exposed Israeli hasbara. The awareness even penetrated the establishment media; at the *New York Times* website, Robert Mackey's Lede blog cataloged the work of those discrediting Israeli spin. He highlighted Max Blumenthal's reporting on doctored IDF audio of the attack and Noam Sheizaf 's work on Turkish photos of the Mavi Marmara attack that contradicted IDF claims. Other significant reporting includes Lia Tarachansky and Blumenthal's work disproving the IDF's claim that the flotilla was linked to Al Qaeda, Jared Malsin's work confirming the doctored audio, and Abunimah's reconstruction of the path of the Mavi Marmara to show that it was actually fleeing at the time of the Israeli attack.

Despite the Israeli Foreign Ministry's best efforts, these Internet journalists were able to shape the story and fill crucial voids in the narrative of the attack that persisted in large part because Israel refused to share the entirety of the video and still footage it confiscated from flotilla passengers. In the past, Israel's control of the story of the conflict, especially in the West, has been an enormous source of power. Now we see that power breaking down at an incredibly swift rate. The one "success" in their *hasbara* effort has been a racist "we are the world" knock-off video that really only confirmed how absolutely tone-deaf many Israelis were to feelings around the world.

In another age, novelist Leon Uris helped supply a narrative of the Israel/Palestine conflict that survived for generations, but today the story is being told firsthand over the Internet. Portions of the attack on the Mavi Marmara were broadcast nearly live over a live-stream video channel online. In addition, several filmmakers onboard were able to smuggle footage off the boat, most notably Iara Lee from the Cultures of Resistance project, whose footage helped contradict the official Israeli version of events. So far, Israel has not found an effective response to this democratization of the media. And who knows, before long, people may talk about how the Gazans ended up in Gaza in the first place, the Nakba of 1948. Who's going to believe "a land without people, for a people without a land" when there are ten YouTube videos to prove you wrong?

We say that the age of Israeli impunity may be coming to an end because of the surge in international grassroots effort to hold Israel accountable. The global boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) was catalyzed by the Israeli assault on Gaza, and the flotilla attack only added fuel to the fire. In the week following the attack a flurry of boycott activities spread the globe from dockworkers in Sweden refusing to unload Israeli ships, to Britain's largest Union, UNITE, deciding to promote an Israeli boycott, to the popular band the Pixies refusing to play Tel Aviv. In addition, Ecuador, Turkey, and South Africa recalled their ambassadors from Israel, and over fifteen other countries summoned the resident Israeli ambassadors to express their outrage. This anger seems to have coalesced at the United Nations, where Secretary General Ban Ki-moon is pressing forward with plans for an international investigation into the flotilla attack despite an Israeli attempt to derail the effort with a domestic inquiry.

We say that the age of Israeli impunity may be coming to an end because of the surge in international grassroots effort to hold Israel accountable. The global boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) was catalyzed by the Israeli assault on Gaza, and the flotilla attack only added fuel to the fire.

Some are already referring to this new U.N. investigation as "Goldstone II." Palestinian commentator Ali Abunimah pointed out on the Al Jazeera English website that if the attack on Gaza moved the world's people, it seemed the flotilla attack moved its governments. He pointed to the international composition of the flotilla and wrote, "It was the day the whole world became Gaza. And like the people of Gaza, the world is unlikely to take it lying down." And so the Gaza flotilla raid may one day prove to be a hinge of modern history.

Reprinted with permission from O/R Books, All Rights Reserved -- 2010. To order: Midnight on the Mavi Marmara, edited by Moustafa Bayoumi (O/R Books, 2010). Philip Weiss and Adam Horowitz are co-editors of the site Mondoweiss, a news website devoted to covering American foreign policy in the Middle East, chiefly from a progressive Jewish perspective.

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War veterans and military spouse successfully blockade Fort Hood deployment to Iraq

Aug 23--Five peace activists successfully blockaded six buses carrying Fort Hood Soldiers deploying to Iraq outside Fort Hood's Clarke gate this morning at around 4 a.m. While the activists took the width of Clarke Rd. and slowed the buses to a halt, police made no arrests, but instead beat the activists out of the streets using automatic weapons and police dogs so the deploying soldiers could proceed.

Among those blockading were three veterans of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and one military spouse. (See attached bios) The action, organized by a group calling themselves "Fort Hood Disobeys," was aimed at preventing the deployment of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment Soldiers to what the veterans termed an illegal and immoral occupation.

While standing in the street, the activists held banners reading "Occupation is a Crime" and "Please Don't Make the Same Mistake We Did. RESIST NOW." From the Texas HW-190 overpass, additional supporters attempted to hang larger banners that read, "Tell the Brass: 'KISS MY ASS' Your family needs you more" "Sick of Fighting Your Wars" and "Col. Allen: Do not deploy wounded Soldiers."

This latest deployment comes less than two weeks after President Obama announced the second end to combat operations in Iraq. Fort Hood Disobeys (FHD) organizers denounced this as a lie, and pointed to the deployment of the 3rd ACR, a combat regiment, to Iraq as clear proof. They have stated they will continue to organize direct action in the Fort Hood community to oppose the wars as long as troops continue to deploy.

The action organizers have established a website at forthooddisobeys.blogspot.com where they will be posting statments, photographs, and video from actions as they become available.

Disobedient Bios:

Bobby Whittenberg-James

I am a Marine veteran of the war against the people of Iraq, a Purple Heart recipient and a third generation military service member. I joined the Marines in June of 2003, believing the lies about weapons of mass destruction and an imminent threat to our safety. I have since come to learn that these wars and occupations do not keep the people of the United States or the Middle East safe, but instead serve the interests of politicans, capitalists and corporations; the ruling elite.

These unjust wars and occupations rob the people of Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Yemen of their dignity and their right to self-determination and serve to make the people of both the Middle East and the United States less safe. They also serve to further destabilize a region that has suffered under the boot-heel of western colonialism for over a century. The US Empire also supports both financially and militarily the brutal apartheid regime that occupies Palestine. All of this is done in our name with our money, and I am here to say "Not in my name!"

Crystal Colon

I was a sergeant in the Army for five years, stationed at Fort Hood the entire time, save two deployments to Iraq totaling 26 months. I was a Signal Support Systems Noncommissioned Officer, coordinating communications for various commands. I was honorably discharged in Jan., 2010, and have been organizing in the veterans peace movement ever since. I first began to question the war in Iraq during my first deployment in '05-'06. After my friend Robb ie was killed, I was very deeply affected. I started questioning why we were in Iraq. It felt like he had died for nothing. After returning from Iraq, I planned to leave the military. I was stop-lossed and forced to return to Iraq for 15 months, in total held beyond the length of my enlistment more than 450 days. Since leaving the military, I have been active with the veterans peace movement, speaking out about my experiences and supporting troops who refuse to fight.

Three months after my husband deployed for the third time, our step-son called to inform me he was joining the Marines. That was the exact moment I realized that our children would be fighting these endless wars.

Matthis Chiroux

I am a former Army sergeant and War Resister. I was press-ganged into the Army by the Alabama Juvenile "Justice" System in 2002. While in the military, I occupied the nations of Japan and Germany for more than four years, with shorter tours in the Philippines and Afghanistan. I was a Public Affairs Noncommissioned Officer specializing in strategic communications. In reality, I was a propaganda artist. I was discharged honorably to the Individual Ready Reserve in 2007.

While I have always been against the war in Iraq, I began resisting it actively in 2008, after I received mobilization orders for a year-long deployment to Iraq. I refused those orders in Congress in May of 2008, calling my orders illegal and unconstitutional. I believed appealing to Congress would end the war. When 13 Members signed a letter of support for my decision and sent it to Bush, I thought we had won a victory for peace. This was more than two years ago. The president has changed, and the wars and destruction drag on.

Cynthia Thomas

I have been an Army Wife for 18 years and my husband has been deployed three times since the wars began. During his second deployment, he was severley wounded and medevaced to Walter Reed Army Hospital on Life Support. Even though he had Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, Traumatic Brain Injury, suffered three fractures in his back, three fractures on his pelvis and countless other injuries, the Army deployed him a third time.

This was devastating to our two daughters, our step-son and to me. Three months after my husband deployed for the third time, our step-son called to inform me he was joining the Marines. That was the exact moment I realized that our children would be fighting these endless wars. I decided that I needed to start resisting.

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▸ **NECESSITY,** continued from page 1

no war research during the trial.

Citing the Nuremberg Charter for wars against humanity, UN Charter Article 51 and the Geneva Convention for how you treat people in time of war, Mosqueda explained to the jury how the illegality of what the US was about to begin in Iraq was evident before the occupation even started. For instance, Mosqueda explained that the median age of Iraqis pre-occupation was 16 so half of the people bombed would be children. Bombing children is a war crime.

Since Article 6, Section 2 of the US Constitution makes all US treaties "supreme law of the land," in addition to being against international law, the violations of these agreements are also unconstitutional. Mosqueda also pointed out that all of these international laws were written largely by the US post-World War II. Mosqueda went on to explain that citizens of countries that commit illegal war have an affirmative duty to stop it from happening or they will be held culpable as was the case in Nuremberg.

PMR organizer Sandy Mayes spoke about anti-war efforts in Olympia that led up to the August 2008 demonstration. In the beginning of the Iraq occupation, Mayes and others organized around sign-waving and letter-writing campaigns to elected officials among other legal outlets to oppose military shipments through Olympia and Tacoma.

But by 2006, after three years of war, it became clear that these strategies were being ignored by the government, so activists began to use direct action to literally stop the military in its tracks. An intense 13-day demonstration at the Port of Olympia in Nov. 2007 cost the city over a million dollars and marked the last time the military has contracted shipments through that port.

Other acts of resistance similarly have incurred costs to city budgets in police overtime, court hours, legal representation, and in one recent case in Grays Harbor County, a hefty settlement over police misconduct.

Mayes also explained to the jury the nonviolent code of conduct established by PMR to enable the highest level of public participation within the group's actions. This was important in establishing Imani's nonviolent role in the specific blockade as Mayes attested to having participated in prior nonviolent civil disobedience with the defendant through PMR.

Michael Honey, a University of Washington-Tacoma professor who has done extensive research in civil rights and labor history, provided expert witness testimony on the use of nonviolent civil disobedience in historic US struggles. Honey provided elaborate details explaining the role of Martin Luther King Jr, whom he had written books about, in committing acts of nonviolent direct action to lobby the country and get issues before the public.

In Daniel Ellsberg's testimony, his progression from government policy advisor to dissident political activist was described. Ellsberg said he was first inspired to action by soldiers he met who resisted government orders to fight. Without the examples of GI resisters Ellsberg met during Vietnam, it would never have occurred to him to release the Pentagon Papers.

Before releasing the Pentagon Papers to the media, Ellsberg went to several members of Congress for help disclosing the contents of the 7,000 page study but none were interested. Segments of the leak started appearing in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* before the Department of Justice obtained federal injunctions to stop further publication. The newspapers appealed and the case went all the way up to the US Supreme Court.

Despite lifting the injunctions, the court's ruling did not protect either

newspaper or Ellberg from possible prosecution under federal laws related to the release of classified government documents. Ellsberg was charged and only avoided the threat of imprisonment after the judge declared a mistrial over the government's mishandling of the case, dropping all of Ellsberg's charges.

Since the release of the Pentagon Papers, Ellsberg was involved in dozens of acts of civil disobedience.

"It conveys moral seriousness," Ellsberg said.

Seth Manzel testified to his experience as a Stryker driver near the beginning of the war. Skeptical of US motives in Iraq, Manzel had joined anyway because he was from a military family and the economy was poor in his native Nebraska. Manzel believed he could help Iraq's people recover from the invasion even if he disagreed with the war's pretexts.

But Manzel's attitude changed soon after his deployment. The last straw was when Manzel received information that prisoners in a US detention center nearby were routinely denied medical attention and sometimes faced torture. Manzel said he brought his concerns to his superiors but the concerns were never acted on.

After Manzel returned from his first tour, he knew he would never go back. When the military called him back, Manzel filed for an exemption knowing that if it was denied he would have no option but to refuse orders and face the possibility of disciplinary action. The military rescinded Manzel's orders and, upon leaving, Manzel told his commander he was going to protest against the war.

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Manzel worked with Iraq Veterans Against the War and eventually co-founded Coffee Strong, a GI rights counseling center and coffee house, with two other Iraq veterans.

At the conclusion of two days worth of compelling witness testimony and a substantial output of relevant expert knowledge to explain Imani's necessity defense, the jury returned after a mere 20 minute deliberation unconvinced.

One can only speculate as to how their decision was reached. Imani initially had a co-defendant with her who opted for a plea bargain before the trial began. Because there was only one defendant, Hildes has less jury pool selectivity otherwise he might have struck all the jurors who considered the case redundant. Only three of the fifteen potential jurors had even heard of PMR and one of those three was unaware any resistance had occurred outside of Olympia. (Other jury selection notes: Three potential jurors who thought the Iraq war was wrong were all dismissed from the final jury pool. When asked by Hildes during the selection phase whether anyone thought the Iraq war was "making us safer", no one responded in the affirmative. Even the most conservative juror via vocal opinion, whom would later be dismissed, replied "...that's a tough question.")

Freedom's just another word for nothin' left to lose, or

Have you ever noticed the name Tacoma contains the word "coma"?

by Patty Imani

On August 11-12 I had the opportunity to defend myself against a disorderly conduct charge in Pierce County District Court, a charge that stems from my arrest near Fort Lewis in August of 2008 when, working with others, we took a necessary step to contain a Stryker combat tank in order to prevent it from returning to Iraq in 2009 with deployment of the 4th-2nd Stryker Combat Brigade. Taking careful measures to ensure the safety of others and ourselves, the protest took the form of direct civil resistance through human blockade using a lock-down tactic. We contained the war machine for a time.

I do believe if we all stood up and nonviolently resisted those instruments of death from passing through our public streets and ports, the occupations could not continue. I don't believe resistance is ever futile, where motivated by a natural response towards justice and away from oppressive structures, actions, and thinking.

The occupation cannot continue without the instruments of occupation. These particular instruments were being used for human slaughter in the illegal occupation of sovereign lands. For those who believe we should wait for government powers to acknowledge this and act to contain the instruments of slaughter, we have allowed millions of Iraqi, and ever-rising Afghan, deaths as those powers, including the United Nations and US congressional, legislative and administrative bodies, turn their backs on the US Constitution, the UN Charter, the Geneva Accord and the Principles of Nuremberg. With the US being the elite member of the security council, I have no hope that the other world nuclear powers on the council will hold the US, or themselves, accountable. We can only invest in the people, each one of us, to uphold those principles, refuse complicity, and act...And that's why we crossed the road: Out of necessity.

I was represented in trial by National Lawyer's Guild Attorney, Lawrence Hildes, who called expert witnesses Larry Mosqueda, Sandy Mayes, Daniel Ellsberg, Michael Honey and Seth Manzell whose testimony met all elements of necessity, which are:

1) That the harm we were seeking to prevent is greater than any harm caused by the action.
2) That the harm we sought to prevent was imminent;
3) That we took action directly against the source of the harm;
4) That we believed the actions we took were likely to be effective in lessening or ending the harm;
5) That we had exhausted reasonable legal alternatives to affect change.

Witnesses testified that constitutional and international laws present not only a civil right to resist illegal acts of war by its government, but obligates citizens to do so rather than comply where war crimes are taking place, and that civil resistance is necessary where indirect means have failed to bring about social change.

Through the necessity defense, I was presented with the opportunity to place on record the crimes of our government. I pursued trial because I chose not to keep silent. Though I understood working within the judicial system would present difficulty if our goal was to present the truth of the war and war resistance. To give example, Judge Margaret Vail Ross supported Prosecutor Dan Womack in attempting to limit any testimony that revealed the "horrors" of war before the jury (apparently we were only to testify on war's niceties?). The court specifically attempted to gag Iraq Veteran Seth Manzel from testifying of the torture of Iraqi peoples during his time in Iraq with a Stryker Combat Brigade. However, the truth was stated despite the gag, the word "torture" proceeded the words "objection" and "sustain", and there was little the court can do to erase the fact of the war crime.

Because of the quick deliberation, I question if the jury understood their assignment, which was to determine guilt or innocence by measuring the evidence presented against the five elements of necessity, not as to if I blocked the combat vehicle in route or not.

Apparently, this was only the third time a necessity defense has been heard before a jury in Washington State. Though such a defense is foreign to any jury, it is highly unusual for a jury to arrive at a guilty verdict when following the directives of a necessity defense. Because of the quick deliberation, I question if the jury understood their assignment, which was to determine guilt or innocence by measuring the evidence presented against the five elements of necessity, not as to if I blocked the combat vehicle in route or not. Of course I blocked it - that was the point.

It's not common that we look to others outside the social justice community to affirm the principles we live by. As an anti-war activist, I am motivated to act according to a greater instinct that acknowledges our responsibility to one another. I am not motivated by public opinion where that public is undermined by truly oppressive structures and systems (the judicial system for example) that compromise correct thinking and behavior. I will not participate in orderly conduct where that conduct is ordered with criminal intent to commit war crimes, crimes against peace and humanity. I am certain that the crimes of our government in orchestrating one million deaths - is the real crime we need to concern ourselves with.

As to the judge, her stated concern was that I had "issues with authority." She was mistaken. I have issues with people refusing their own authority as an innate right. Until people recognize their own, and affirm others' freedom in this regard, it seems there is very little hope for our societies, our planet, to survive in any healthy form.

I have no regrets that I took this case to trial. Thank you for your gracious support. It was especially wonderful to see Father Bill Bichsel, my friends with Seattle Radical Women and the many friends and activists from Olympia (!), Tacoma and Seattle who are integral to port militarization resistance and in turning the rusty gears of the anti-war movement. My sincere thanks to Daniel Ellsberg for staying by my side, and to Peter Bohmer for his much needed help in making sure Dan's visit was a logistical success. Thanks to my attorney, Larry Hildes, and his assistant, Karen Weill for the good fight. And, thank you Jeff for taking us out to dinner!

In contrast to the defense witnesses' compelling testimony, state prosecutor Dan Womack maintained a simplistic argument throughout the trial. Womack wanted the jury to assess Imani as some annoying traffic threat instead of someone acting out of obligation and compassion.

In a public statement made following the jury's decision, Imani took a conciliatory stance toward the members of the jury while maintaining the community's continuing need to resist.

"I of course remain disappointed in the jury's decision. It is tremendously sad that these six individuals missed the opportunity to acknowledge and stand by the principles and practices we all must live by, which affirm the people, each individual one of us, as the ultimate authority in choosing to comply or resist when the atrocities of war crimes, crimes against peace and crimes against humanity are before us.

"As far as the verdict goes, there is no loss. We only lose if we stop acting, and I know that's impossible. The testimony, which told the stories of 50 years of resistance, was proof of that. That activists are motivated to continue resistance against the militarization of our port, soon after learning our public port in Olympia has taken exploitive measures to again collaborate with the Department of Defense to move military shipments in the near future – offers proof of that.

"I hope you'll agree with me in coming to the conclusion that it does not matter that these six individuals couldn't affirm these truths (for themselves, or for others). What does matter is that we've acted by them. It's not common that we look to others outside the social justice community to affirm the principles we live by. As an anti-war activist I am motivated to act according to a greater instinct that acknowledges our responsibility to one another. I am not motivated by public opinion where that public is undermined by truly oppressive structures and systems (the judicial system for example) that compromise correct thinking and behavior.

"As to the charge of disorderly conduct, I will not participate in orderly conduct where that conduct is ordered with criminal intent to commit war crimes, crimes against peace and crimes against humanity. I am certain that the crimes of our government in orchestrating one million deaths is the real crime we need to concern ourselves with."

Brendan Funtek and Nigel Weiss each attended the trial. This article is written from their perspective and their notes.

WIP Easter Egg Hunt!

Bet you can't find every Editor's Note this month!

News Bits from a Small Blue Planet

by Mike Coday
smallblueplanet.org

War Crimes Update:

• Olympia's favorite suspected violator of the Posse Comitatus Act, John Jacob Towery II, aka John Jacob, aka email handle Agent Orange, is no longer officially employed at Fort Lewis according to *Seattle Weekly*. Heads up all, Agent Orange may have some free time on his hands for our progressive causes. Seattleweekly.com has the story. Those in the know believe that Agent Orange is now working for the Navy.

• News update from AfPakIraqistan: Afghan President Hamid Karzai has set a four month deadline for private security corporations to dissolve and disappear from the graveyard of empires and budding democracy. It is believed that Karzai Inc. will be able to absorb the security contracts and provide smooth transition to an Afghani market economy. The US State Department expressed some concern over the time frame.

• General David Petraus says he doesn't think we will be able to leave Afghanistan on President Obama's timetable. Maybe it just can't happen that fast. Oh, and Petraus points out that he was not dispatched to Afghanistan to engineer an orderly withdrawal. Hmmm, too bad about that. Disorderly withdrawal, here we come.

• A missile attack in the South Waziristan region of Pakistan is reported to have killed 10 militants. The missile attack on Pakistan (like other drone missile attacks in Yemen) is believed to have originated from a drone aircraft operated by the USA. Yep, sounds both plausible and outrageous. WHAM – winning hearts and minds.

• Iran has entered the drone age and unveiled their unmanned bomber that can carry four cruise missiles. The Iran drone bomber has a range of 620 miles. Iran President Ahmanadinejad declared the "Karrar" a messenger of death for the enemies of mankind, but said the drone's key message was one of friendship. Dog my cats, didn't he just steal our line? BBC has the story.

• Pakistan has recently decided that homegrown insurgents (folks who survive drone missile attacks?) now pose a greater danger to their national security than India. You really have to ask if the primary purpose of most US foreign policy is to create chaos and war? If the purpose is to make us safer, the foreign policy is a complete disaster. If the purpose is to create a vibrant market for weapons of war, our foreign policy is a resounding success.

• George W. Bush and Tony Blair – still unindicted co-conspirators in the manufacture of a war of aggression against Iraq.

• Dick Cheney – still being treated with marginal success for longstanding failure of heart.

Peace Crime News: Several Olympians with healthy heart function have recently made the news for crossing the line and engaging in peace crimes:

• Alice Zillah was arrested at Bangor on August 9 for calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons a little too strenuously. Alice is reported to have stood in the road with a banner stating "We Can Live Without Trident." And it got worse, eight others were arrested on the anniversary of the US atomic bombing of Nagasaki for acts of conscience that included sitting in the roadway with a sign saying "Abolish Nuclear Weapons." Thank you, friends. Www.gzcenter.org if you are feeling unruly about nuclear weapons in our backyard.

• Patty Imani argued her obstruction of movement of materials of an illegal war saying that her conscience made her do it. Patty's legal team from Hildes Law mounted an impressive necessity defense. Daniel Ellsberg, peace and conscience activist from the Vietnam Era, and leaker of the Pentagon Papers Publishing Company came to Tacoma and explained the necessity defense to a jury that apparently didn't get it and voted guilty. Well done, Patty et al. Look around in this issue for more details. YouTube has good video coverage of this story.

• They're getting unruly deep in the heart of Texas. Five peace activists, including 3 veterans of our current wars and one military spouse, blocked buses full of soldiers deploying to Iraq outside of Ft Hood in Killeen, Texas. They have declared the war over in Iraq, but what about the illegal occupation? I guess that's still on. No arrests as the activists were removed with automatic weapons and police dogs. I think we have something on that in this issue. http://news.infoshop.org

First Amendment News Briefs: President and Constitutional Professor Speaks Out!

• President Barack Obama climbed bravely off the fence on Friday, August 13th to announce his full-throated support for the First Amendment protection of freedom of religion at a Ramadan dinner and stated unequivocally that Muslims have the right to build a community center in lower Manhattan, 4 blocks from the site of the Twin Towers.

• Eschewing the bully pulpit at his disposal, President Obama remounted the fence on Saturday, August 14 and refused to commit as to whether building the Muslim community center was a good idea or not. I think we have the middle ground staked out pretty clearly now. Kind of like theoretical support of unsegregated lunch counters and buses. Why push it by actually sitting down where you are not wanted? Most of the Bill of Rights stuff is largely theoretical anyway, right? Well, not the Second Amendment right to bear arms, but the rest? Who really cares about the rest?

GLBT Newsfront: Politics makes strange bedfellows in the culture war over the insanctity of marriage.

• Bush Administration heavyweight Ted Olson joined San Francisco liberals (dogwhistle anyone) in persuading Judge Vaughn Walker to overturn California's Proposition 8 that outlaws gay and lesbian marriage and claims to protect heterosexual unions in ways that Judge Walker thoroughly debunked in his decision.

• But the nuptials are back on hold after the Ninth Circuit followed by reversing Judge Walker's order and stopping, at least for now, any gay marriages in California. Legal scholars suspect that the proponents of Prop 8 have legal standing to carry the fight any further. Legal standing is in question, standing and screaming, rending of garments, and much thrashing is still expected. It's distressing to be on the wrong side of history.

Boycott, Divestment and Sanction News – Speaking of being on the wrong side of history...

• Harvard (THE Harvard) quietly announced that it had divested Israeli holdings through a filing regarding holdings. Smart guys, keep it quiet. Not particularly courageous to do good so quietly, but smart.

• Less quietly, the Olympia Food Co-op drew a large crowd on August 12 to discuss the Co-op Board's publicly announced July decision to join the BDS movement on behalf of the Palestinian people. We may have some coverage of that story somewhere in this issue? Look hard, there must be something on that somewhere in these pages.

• The Port Townsend Co-op is considering joining the BDS movement. A decision or announcement from PT is expected around September 21.

• Up north, the Boycott Israel Apartheid Coalition has stepped into the street to block the Djibouti, a ship owned by Zim of Israel from unloading. Www.rabble.ca for details.

• Norway announced on August 23 that it had divested from Africa Israel Investments and construction subsidiary Danya Cebus because of construction of Israeli settlements on occupied Palestinian lands. The movement is underway.

• How about a quote from Bishop Desmond Tutu, a supporter of the BDS movement?

"If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse and you say that you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality." - Bishop Desmond Tutu. (thanks to Dr. Muhammad Ayub for sharing this quote)

• Weather report: Hot, hot, hot.

• Extremely hot weather (related to global-warming? well who can say?) was fueling some pretty big fires in Russia and the forests and grounds at risk of burning included some acreage where Russia stores nuclear waste from the Chernobyl nuclear accident. Well, not so much stores as ignores, but you know, it's easier to build a nuclear plant than it is to clean up a nuclear accident site, so cut them some slack. There is some concern that the smoke clouds from radioactive forests might pose a health danger, but Russia's chief sanitary doctor, Dr. Gennadi Onischenko told the Interfax new agency, "There is no need to sow panic. Everything is fine." Good to know. I feel better now.

• First we take Manhattan... better, let's take the ice island that broke off of the Peterman Glacier in Greenland in early August. It's four times as big as Manhattan and a lot cooler. And it floats, so as sea level rises, the Peterman Ice Island rises with the sea level, where the island of Manhattan is going to simply have to tread water or go Dutch to avoid rising sea level. Representative Ed Markey suggested it could serve as a home for global warming skeptics. That seems a little harsh. We are so lucky here in the Northwest that all of that is happening in the Atlantic Ocean and not the Pacific. I guess we caught a break over here on the Left Coast.

• Does the air smell a little bit different? Is that fall in the air or is it the smell of air with 390 ppm of carbon dioxide? We just passed 390 when we need to be scratching and clawing to get down to 350 ppm. 350.org for more details

It's the Economy, Stupid– well, maybe

• Washington State Office of Financial Management has crunched the numbers on Initiative 1098, the millionaire tax initiative and OFM says that 1098 would raise two billion bucks per year for the State budget and would affect 1.2% of Washington citizens.

• State job losses continue to pile up. State worker furloughs are creating hardships for lots of Evergreen families.

• The deficit hawks are circling and hoping to make gains in the October midterm elections. The deficit hawks have generally never seen a bank-busting military adventure they could fail to fund, but a safety net in hard times looks like an extravagance.

• Canadian activists looking to assist in the breaking of the siege of Gaza plans to launch a Canadian Boat to Gaza this fall. However, this Canadian version of the Freedom Flotilla that seeks to break the siege has a twist. In partnership with the Free Gaza Movement the Canadian Boat to Gaza initiative, headed in part by Canadian activist Sandra Ruch, seeks to also take goods out of Gaza. Viva la free market! Search for the story at http://electronicintifada.net/

Beam Me Up, Scottford – news on electricity and the politics of the wild electron

• Biomass news – the battle continues in the US and Puget Sound over the push to create biomass electricity generation in the wake of a Congressional decision to give tax breaks for biomass as part of the green and alternative energy legislation. Hmm... burning stuff to create electricity, is that a new and alternative idea? Nobiomass.org or www.temperaterainforests.org for more information

• Meanwhile in Brazil, an eleven billion dollar dam, the Belo Monte Dam, is on track to flood 200 square miles of the Xingu River basin and to displace about 12,000 indigenous people who live and fish on the river. Sao Paolo needs the electricity and chief engineer Valter Cardeal says the project will bring health and education benefits as well as territorial security to the indigenous people being displaced. For some indigenous people, this is the second time that they have experienced the territorial security of displacement. Some of indigenous folks were moved to their current homes during the construction of the Tucurui Dam 200 miles away. Does this count as double-dipping into the benefits of displacement benefits? US banks need to take a lesson from Brazil, it's not a foreclosure, it's territorial security and the opportunity to travel. Amazonwatch.org has the details.

• The sun, the star we continue to orbit, beat down on us yesterday and dropped an astounding average of 164 watts of green energy per square meter (yep, I went metric, like Old Europe) on every inch (came to my senses) of this planet as human beings continue to struggle to find an energy source for our hair driers and air conditioners that doesn't create mass extinction news. Speaking of which:

Mass extinction update

• The fungus geomyces destructans is thriving in cave environments and is believed to have killed about a million bats to date. The fungus was first discovered in a cave in New York State in 2006. The magazine Science concludes that the little brown bat, the most common Northeastern species of bat, is likely to be extinct in twenty years. Www.sciencemag.org for more details.

• jetBlue Flight Attendant Steven Slater endangered his job prospects on airlines everywhere when he got into an argument with a passenger, grabbed a beer from the galley, popped an emergency exit chute on the runway at JFK and staged a one-guy walkout. Maybe next job in the theater industry?

News that defies categories

• jetBlue Flight Attendant Steven Slater

▸ **NEWS,** continued on page 25

UNCLE SAM CORP NEEDS YOU!

by Dave Zink and Aleta DeBee

Feel like you're losing control over your life? Like you're working harder, but just can't seem to get ahead? Are you feeling that the corporations are gaining more and more power even after they are caught doing harm? Think your vote and voice don't count because the corporations are going to get their way anyway, no matter what you say?

Every which way you turn, you can see the effects of corporate power battering America. Poorly planned urban sprawl is paving over meadows and forests, and gobbling up our best farmland. Productivity of labor is up, while poverty is growing. Billions of tax dollars go to military contractors, while schools and social programs go begging. All for short-term profit, and long-term tragedy. These are not symptoms of a system gone awry – this is everyday corporate business-as-usual. When the top priority is short-term profit, these things should come as no surprise.

Corporations are stripping citizens of power. Although many Americans see that things are seriously going haywire, many haven't "connected the dots" yet, and are unaware of the titanic power grab that is in process. Or, they don't think there's any chance of fighting the powerful system.

Politicians come and go, but the underlying power structure remains intact. A small, but powerful unelected few make the command decisions behind the scenes that affect our livelihood, our health, our food, our peace and our environment. The majority have no effective input beyond the façade of "fair" elections every few years. We now have a crippled democracy.

Not content to merely siphon wealth from working people, multi-national corporations, with their head offices offshore to avoid paying their fair share of taxes, take billions of dollars in corporate welfare from U.S. taxpayers.

Tired of your tax dollars going down the rat hole of war with no peace in sight? Big Business has stolen our flag, cynically prostituting patriotism while hiding behind Old Glory—making her a hated symbol to far too many people around the world. The corporate "government" lies to us to rally public backing for Big Oil's grab to control foreign energy supplies. Thousands of America's young people are sacrificed on the altar of corporate greed in the name of patriotism.

The military is the "hammer of the government," a tool meant to be used surgically and sparingly to defend our country, not as the hit-man for corporations. This behavior breeds more terrorists every day. The National Guard is for responding to natural disasters like earthquakes, tornados, and floods – not for securing the global oil supply for Exxon/Mobil, BP, or Chevron.

Then, when our troops come home, they often have to wait for the medical attention they need, or, frustrated, they do without. Standards crash when services at Veteran's Hospitals are contracted out to private, for-profit outfits.

Why are so many people quiet in the face of all this? A major reason is that TV, radio, and newspaper ownership is concentrating into a few corporate hands that dominate and regulate the flow of information and the marketplace of ideas. What we are allowed to learn and think is increasingly filtered or altered.

Politicians are increasingly dependent on corporate donors, and "he who pays the piper, calls the tune". This undermines the democratic foundations of our republic. Elections have become a commodity bought by the highest bidder, and sometimes stolen outright when the results may be inconvenient for the corporate rulers, as in Florida in 2000 or Ohio in 2004.

And our future is looking dimmer by the day.

It wasn't always like this: a quick historical sketch

The spark which ignited the American Revolution was a rebellion against abusive British corporations. Throughout our history, patriots have been warning us about the dangers that corporate power poses to democracy. While superficially honoring those leaders, these issues are edited out of most of the history textbooks chosen for use in public schools.

"I hope we shall crush in its birth the aristocracy of our monied corporations which dare already to challenge our government to a trial by strength, and bid defiance to the laws of our country."

— Thomas Jefferson, Letter to George Logan, 12 November 1816

"I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. Corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed."

— U.S. President Abraham Lincoln, 21 November 1864 (letter to Col. William F. Elkins)

Ref: The Lincoln Encyclopedia, Archer H. Shaw (Macmillan, 1950, NY)

Neither the Democrats nor the GOP have systemic change on their agenda. Very few even want to discuss the corporatist roots of our problems. The chase after corporate donations has become all-important in the political game, while lip service is paid to democracy, fairness, and citizen power.

Despite the warnings, over the years, step by step, corporations grew in power. After their attorneys convinced the Supreme Court to define them as "legal persons" under the Constitution in 1886, they went on to amass more wealth and power.

By the beginning of the 20th Century, the "Robber Barons" had nearly succeeded in turning the USA into a feudal fiefdom. Disgusted at the flagrant arrogance and abuse, people started to rebel against the corporate Iron Heel. An array of progressive movements grew to levels alarming to the wealthy.

Teddy Roosevelt was elected president, and enacted reforms to break up the giant Trusts. His "Square Deal" defused dissent and bought some time for the corporate system.

In the 1930s, the U.S.A. found itself in the depths of the Great Depression—a crisis of overproduction brought on by the corporate system. In the wealthiest country in the world, with rich farmland and a crisis of overproduction idling factories, people were starving amid plenty. With lines of unemployed on one side of the street, and idle factories on the other, an array of popular challenges to corporate power arose again. The Flint, Michigan sit-down strikes, and the Minneapolis Teamsters strike were two examples. Instead of just holding rallies and demonstrations out on the streets, the workers actually went into their workplaces and occupied and controlled them. They organized support networks, created effective supply and distribution systems—and ran those workplaces democratically with and for themselves and their communities. This is the sort of thing that offers a positive alternative vision—and strikes fear in the hearts of the corporate masters.

In the face of a developing revolutionary situation, Franklin Delano Roosevelt warned the elite that if they didn't give the poorest of the poor **some**thing, more than a few crumbs from the table, the wealthiest would soon face a predicament in which they would risk losing the whole game. Elected president, FDR championed a set of reforms known as the "New Deal."

Both the Square and the New Deals borrowed heavily from the progressive movements and instituted reforms that gave working people a piece of the action – gains like collective bargaining and Social Security. But both "deals" did it from the angle of securing the corporate power structure. Neither went to the roots of the tragic problems that are recurrent in this system to make fundamental change.

"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The total influence — economic, political, even spiritual — is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society."

— Dwight D. Eisenhower, Farewell Address to the Nation, 17 January 1961

Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, in response to the growing civil rights and peace movements, sought to reform America with their Great Society programs. Once more, the root problem – the corporate system itself – was left intact.

Today, we again face a new generation of robber barons. Same gang, different faces. Many previous gains like social security, the right to privacy, and environmental progress, are threatened. Popular discontent is rising against the system's inability to provide necessities as basic as jobs, affordable homes and decent healthcare, while stirring up a toxic stew of militarism, pollution, alienation, violence, and poverty.

Given the opportunity, corporations continually jostle for dominance and bump up against the boundaries of civil society. Given the opportunity, they inevitably outgrow national borders, exploit cheaper labor abroad, and seek to dominate foreign markets. Corporate power leads to imperialism and war because corporations operate on a "grow-or-die" logic which is unsustainable in the long term. Shareholder primacy – profit above all – is the rule. All too often, it doesn't matter if Americans thrive, because multi-nationals are no longer a part of America. Corporations do not have feelings of regret or concern for people, community, or country.

Neither the Democrats nor the GOP have systemic change on their agenda. Very few even want to discuss the corporatist roots of our problems. The chase after corporate donations has become all-important in the political game, while lip service is paid to democracy, fairness, and citizen power. Every day, our senators and representatives face a horde of lobbyists, bankrolled by corporate interests. Against that din, the voices of average citizens can hardly be heard.

It doesn't have to be like this!

What can we learn from all this? First, periodic crises aren't flukes. It is the normal operation of corporate power that undermines democracy and the economy. Americans have tried repeatedly to restrain corporate abuses. But, by their very nature as profit-maximizing machines, corporations will use the law to avoid any restraints and regulations that promote economic, social, and environmental justice. Secondly, by leaving the power structure in corporate hands, we sow the seeds of future trouble. When corporations see their power and wealth threatened, the corporate elite historically respond in one of two ways:

1. Reform – give up a little something. Divert attention away from, and defuse the surging popular movements. Then finagle a way to take it back later, or
2. When there is no perceived realistic possibility for reform, create a false threat, by setting up some "other" group (such as an ethnic, economic or sexual minority) and blame them for problems, while disrupting citizen's organizations like unions, cooperatives, and grassroots movements. They'll even finance astroturf (bogus grassroots) groups with kindly names to do their bidding.

Will we take a lesson from history, or will we just allow the death of our democracy? How many will die because of this system? How many are already dying? How much of our nation's promise will remain for our children to enjoy?

All citizens of good will—Republican, Democrat, and Independent—are needed in the struggle to take back America. It is time to stand together to save our freedoms and save our democracy. There are alternatives to the corporate system – we need to be discussing these options, up, down, and across the country. We need to take back our government. It's up to us, the "real" people.

The deck is stacked and the dice are loaded. Is it time for another "deal"? Maybe it's time for a whole new game, with better, more common-sense, democratic, cooperative, and sustainable rules.

Want more information?

Gangs of America: the Rise of Corporate Power and the Disabling of Democracy, by Ted Nace

Addicted to War, by Joel Andreas

The Corporation, by Joel Kovel

A People's History of the United States, by Howard Zinn

Lies My Teacher Told Me, by James W. Loewen

When Corporations Rule the World, and the *Great Turning*, by David Korten

America Besieged, and *Democracy for the Few*, by Michael Parenti

Thieves in High Places, and *Swim against the Current*, by Jim Hightower

Democracy Now!, check: http://www.democracynow.org/ for local radio stations carrying this program.

Some recommended publications: *Yes! Magazine, Z magazine, the Progressive,* and this newspaper – *Works In Progress*

Corporation, noun. "An ingenious device for obtaining individual profit without individual responsibility."

Ambrose Bierce, American journalist, 1842 – 1914

Aug. 12 Olympia Center Forum

Amirah Ziada

I remember when I first learned of the conflict in Israel/Palestine. I was a child, about the age of 10, sitting in the living room of my Palestinian friend's home. They were discussing how they missed and feared for their families who were still in Palestine; about how their family's farm had been destroyed, their lands taken, and their home demolished, again. I remember wondering how anyone could do such a horrible thing to such wonderful people. I was not able to understand why nothing was being done to stop these atrocities.

Over thirteen years have gone by since that day, and since then I have been involved in Palestinian solidarity work in a number of different ways. I have lobbied the government, protested in the streets, participated in dialogues, as well as other forms of non-violent action. As the years went on, I watched as multiple peace talks failed. I watched as countless UN resolutions and international laws were broken. It slowly became very clear to me that all of these efforts seemed to make no tangible difference in the policies of the Israeli government towards the Palestinian people.

I began to seriously question the strategies that I had been using and began to search for a viable alternative, an alternative that has been proven to work in the past to bring about social change. I also knew that whatever the alternative was, it had to be a strategy that allowed me, an ordinary citizen, to take matters into my own hands. This factor was especially important to me because we are living in a country whose government has remained complacent on these issues. That is when I first learned about the Global BDS movement. The Global BDS movement has been gaining momentum since July 9, 2005 when a group of over 170 Palestinian civil society organizations issued a call for boycotts, divestments and sanctions (BDS) towards the state of Israel until the government of Israel chooses to comply with international law and end its occupation of Palestine. The movement is based upon the success of the BDS movement to end South African apartheid. Since the call was issued, thousands of individuals and organizations have endorsed the call including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Naomi Klein, Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb and several others.

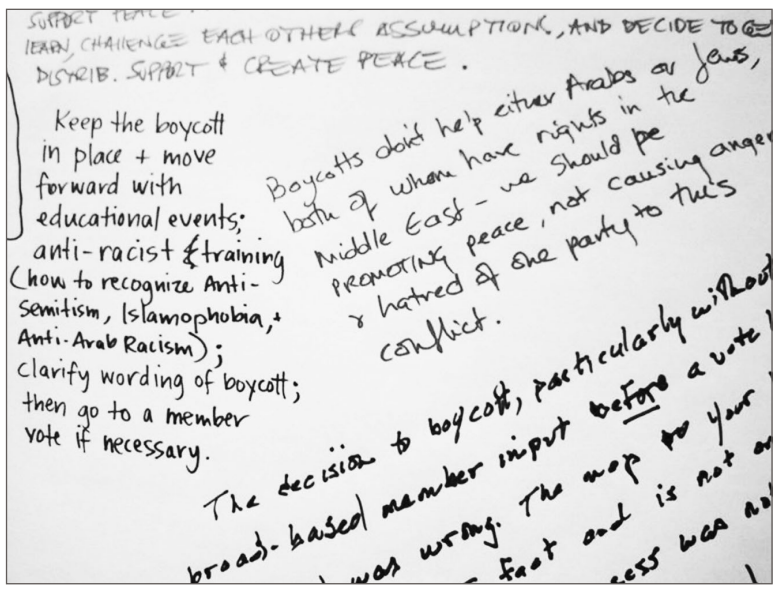
Like many people, I am not one to make hasty decisions when it comes to endorsing things. I spent months studying BDS, from researching and reading articles and essays to conducting interviews and having dialogues with several people, whose opinions on the issue varied greatly. After careful consideration I have come to the realization that BDS is the only viable option that we have today. It is a non-violent, legal, direct action strategy that we, as ordinary citizens, can partake in, and has historically been proven to work. The BDS movement has instilled a new found hope for me in the struggle for Palestinian human rights and self-determination. I no longer feel like I have to ask the government to take action and then sit back and cross my fingers while I wait for them to bring about change in the world. It is an avenue that allows us to move from just talking about peace and justice to taking action towards it.

That is why the Olympia Food Co-op's boycott of Israeli products is a beacon of hope. I am so proud to be a member of an organization that isn't afraid to take a strong moral stance against injustice. Many opponents of the Co-op's decision try to argue that there are many other ways to bring peace to the region. Though I searched, I have yet to hear of a single method that would appear to be as effective as BDS. That is why to me, BDS is the logical decision.

One of the questions the board asked the community was, Where do we go from here? My answer to that question is simple: We keep the boycott in place until the government of Israel changes their policies and ends its occupation of Palestine. Until all Palestinians and Israelis can live in equitable justice and peace. We can only hope that other organizations in this country follow the Olympia Food Co-op's lead and stand up for what is right.

Ruth Lipow

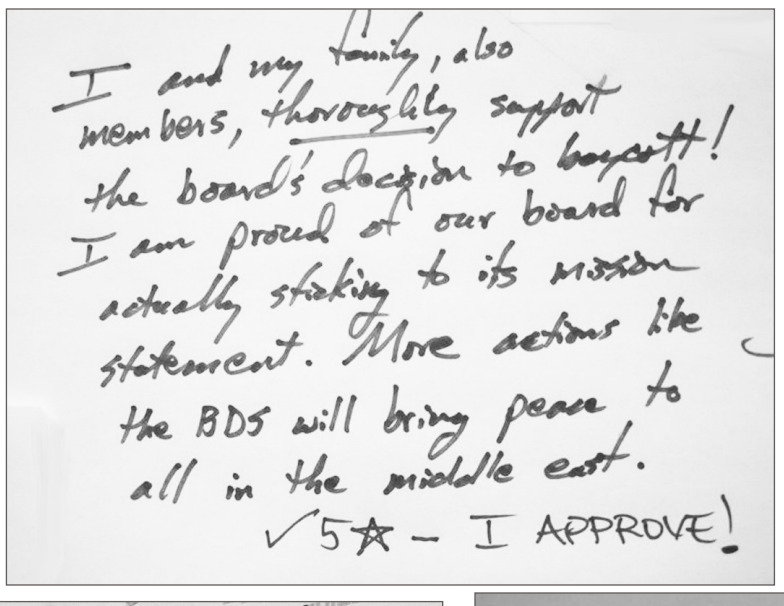
Hello. I'm Ruth Lipow, an 88 year old Jewish Co-op member here to speak in favor of the Co-op's boycott to help support Palestinian rights as part of a long co-op tradition of honoring such boycotts.

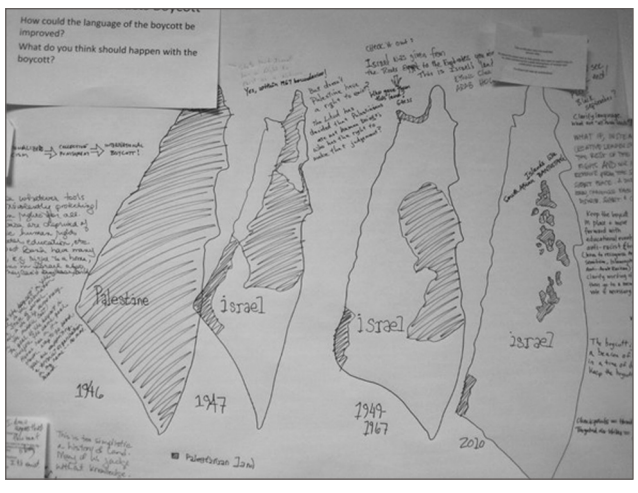

Keep the boycott in place + move forward with educational events;
anti-racist & training (how to recognize Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, + Anti-Arab Racism);
clarify wording of boycott;
then go to a member vote if necessary.
Boycotts don't help either Arabs or Jews, both of whom have rights in the Middle East - we should be promoting peace, not causing anger & hatred of one party to this conflict.
The decision to boycott, particularly without broad-based member input before a vote

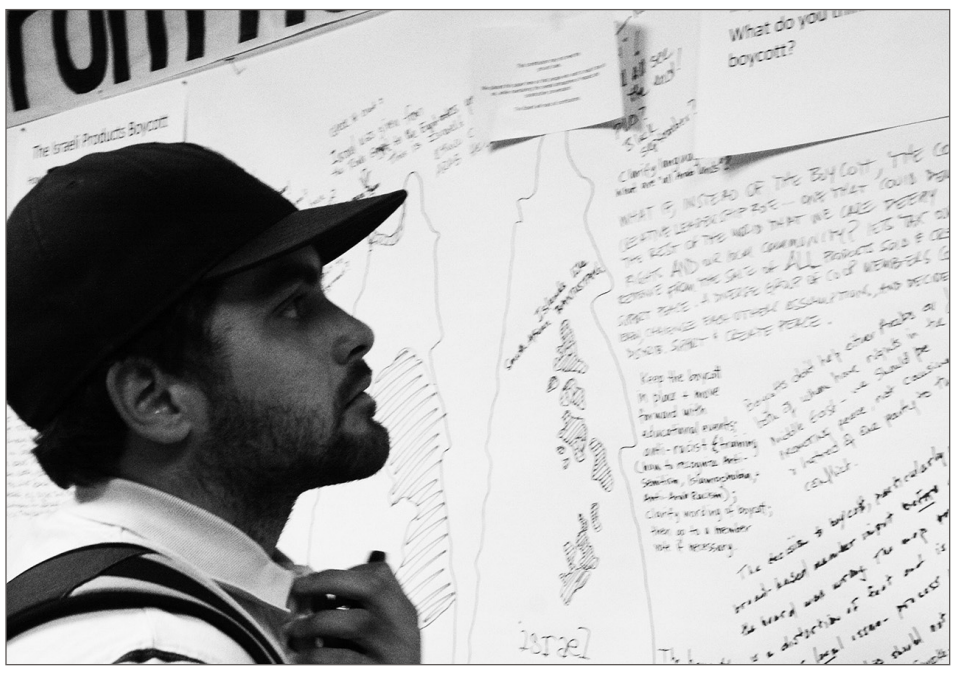
I know some opponents of B.D.S. have special names they call Jews who support B.D.S., but names are not new to me. I was called names when I opposed selling scrap metal to Japan before WWII, the same scrap metal that later rained on Pearl Harbor. I was called names for circulating petitions in support of the nuclear test ban treaty that helps keep strontium 5 out of our milk today. I won't tell you the names I was called for supporting integration and civil rights back when *New York Times* editorials called that an "extremist" position. I was called names for opposing the Vietnam War. I was called names for supporting B.D.S. against South African Apartheid, for opposing the Iraq war, and for advocating a pullout from Afghanistan.

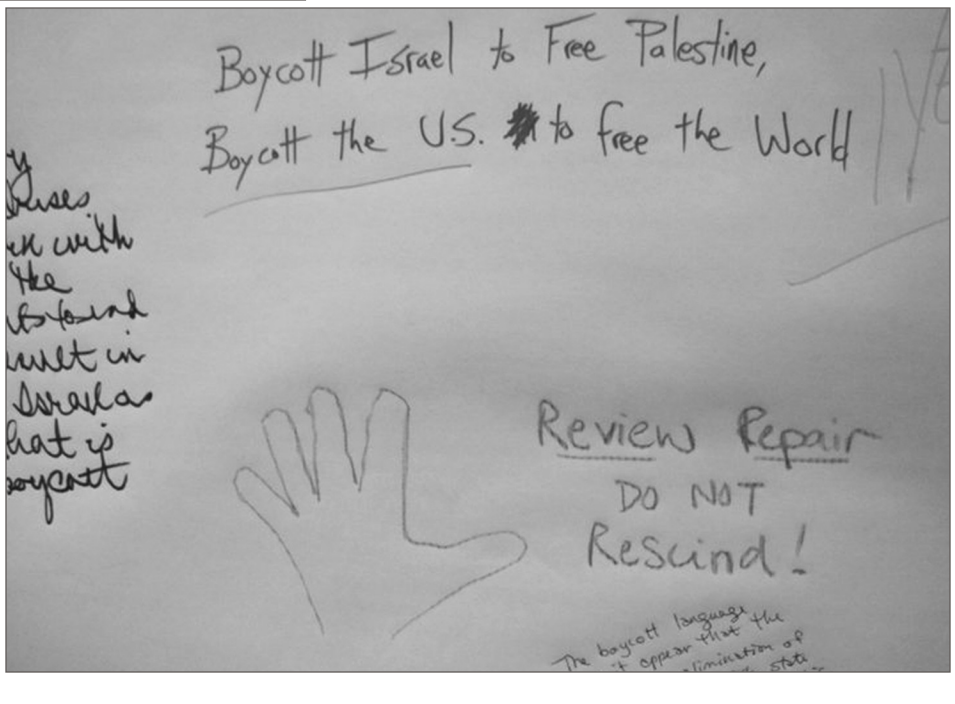
B.D.S. is a way to non-violently oppose the torment Palestinians are subjected to. The siege of Gaza (which has not ended in spite of the change in rhetoric) produces a rate of infant death comparable to that of the poorest nations of Africa. Pregnant West Bank Palestinian women end up delivering their babies at checkpoints because Israeli soldiers won't let them through to hospitals. And, though the main victims of this are Palestinians, the rot from being an occupying power has spread throughout Israel.

Roving Israeli gangs harass and intimidate couples that consist of Arab men dating Jewish women, as though they lived in the old Jim Crow south. Israel's long-standing tolerance of ultra-orthodox vigilantes violently enforcing modesty codes now extends out of ultra-orthodox neighborhoods. Wires are strung and used to trip women showing more cleavage or leg than these ultra-orthodox approve of even on secular streets. I hope everyone here cares about Palestinian rights. But even if that is not a priority to you, consider this: If you had a friend who had become an alcoholic, would you gift them with bottles of whiskey? Or would you join with their other friends who staged an intervention and told them they had a problem? Much of Israel has an addiction to racism. Much of Israel has an addiction to oppression. Much of Israel has an addiction to violence. And if you care about Israel's survival, you will join in this non-violent B.D.S. campaign both to support Palestinian human rights and also to save Israel from itself.


I and my family, also members, thoroughly support the board's decision to boycott! I am proud of our board for actually sticking to its mission statement. More actions like the BDS will bring peace to all in the middle east.
✓5★ - I APPROVE!







on the Oly Food Co-op Boycott

Wally Cuddeford

Howdy, I'm Wally Cuddeford, lifelong resident of Olympia, and I support the boycott.

I feel frustrated when the boycott opposition speaks so much of having a dialogue. This was the same argument used to strike down Olympia-Rafah Sister City three years ago. "This is too divisive." "What if we do this instead?" "Let's have a dialogue." Oly-Rafah was voted down by the City Council, and then... no dialogue! It was frustrating because none of the alternatives presented were pursued by the opposition. The only people who pursued alternatives were progressive activists who organize today for BDS.

It is possible for a situation to be both an injustice so grave that imperative action must be taken, and for it to be so deeply polarizing as to divide a community that addresses it. The choice then, as always, is action, or silence. Thank you for choosing action.

Dr. Muhammad Ayub

Respected Board Members of the Olympia Food Co-op,

Ramadan Kareem! Happy Ramadan! Congratulations and jubilations are in order for the OFC board members and staff! This is a beacon of hope: the OFC's boycott of Israeli goods has been featured on Al-Jazeera news channel and on 60 minutes of Israeli national TV. The Israeli Parliament "Knesset" discussed the OFC support of the boycott over 4 days of breakfast meetings. My co-op has made history and I am proud of it!

The community-wide support for this boycott of Israeli goods is demonstrated fiscally by double-digit increases in sales. It has created 16,000 meaningful discussions in the co-op community membership. Such interactions have led to a greater understanding of issues, shifting of positions, mass education and in some cases, an agreement to disagree without being disagreeable. These discussions have given the community the ability to sleep better at night because there is no longer the cognitive dissonance or feeling of hypocrisy to not support a legitimate cause of the poor Palestinians.

My name is Muhammad Ayub and I am part of the Jewish-Muslim Compassionate Listening Group and the Moses & Muhammad (peace be upon them both) Eco-kosher Eco-halal farm and buying club. I am telling you this to establish my credentials and where I am coming from. I am neither anti-Semitic nor an unreasonable man. What has torn me apart is that half of the folks in the opposition to this boycott are my close friends and are on the speed-dial on my cell phone. They have stood by us on the same platform against human-rights violations in Rwanda, Bosnia, Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Argentina and various other places.

However, I need to balance and walk a tight-rope between speaking the truth and caring for my close Jewish friends who are the children of the Holocaust that happened in Germany. This boycott is not negative, but positive. It is not pessimistic, but optimistic. IT is a beacon of hope. It is about being the vicarious voice for the poor Palestinian orphans and widows because they were **not** responsible for the holocaust (shoah). It is about the apartheid that they face as Arab citizens of Israel. They have no equal pay and wages, no safety from land-seizures, no security from Fundamentalist Jewish settlers who uproot their mature olive trees to sell at auctions, no permission to love or marry across ethnic lines, decreased opportunities for school, work, recreation, community, spiritual practices or burying their dead. They can't travel on "Jewish-only" roads. Because our government has failed to take action, this is a grass-roots, non-violent, hyper-local "people's action".

This beacon of hope is about being an ally, an advocate for the poor, voiceless Palestinians. As a rule, I side with the under-dogs if they have a point. In this case, they do have a point. Israel is an apartheid state and this boycott will help both parties. It is good for Israel in the long run, just as the boycotts were good for South Africa in the long run. We don't tolerate bullying in schools; why tolerate it in global politics! Bullies need help too! Palestinians have told several visiting delegations: "The trauma that our Jewish friends felt in Germany during the HOLOCAUST was quite real and will last a long time. Healing takes a long time. Displacement of the fear and anger onto the Palestinians is not right. They were not responsible for the killings in the Jewish pogroms. We pray for the healing of the hearts. Please help the Jewish people heal from the collective trauma of the holocaust. Unless they heal, they shall displace that fear and anger and keep lashing out on us. Abused children grow up to be abusers." I hope to work closely with the Jewish-Muslim group to help in the healing of hearts- infact, all hearts because we all need it too!

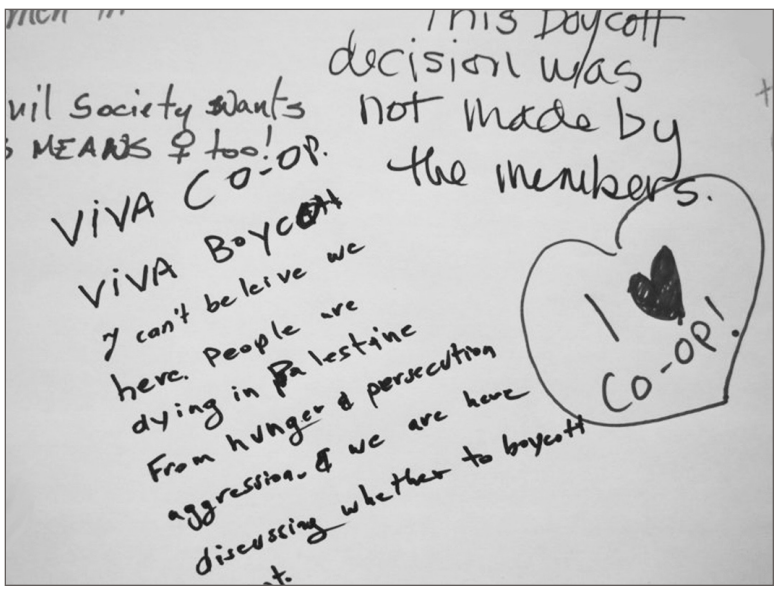
As a Muslim, I have no qualms or fear about criticizing the stupid, ludicrous, absurd policies of idiotic governments in Muslim populated countries. After dinner one evening, we chatted and the family made up a list of approximately 80 things that we can condemn. It does not reduce my spirituality or being a Muslim; infact, the Holy Quran commands us to do so. All I am asking my Israeli Jewish friends is to criticize a few policies of Israel- how will it reduce their Jewishness? What do the Holy Scriptures in the Talmud, Tenach / Torah and the Midrash say about criticizing people in power? After the townhall meeting, I'd love to hear primarily from my Jewish friends about this! I am a good listener! **smiles**

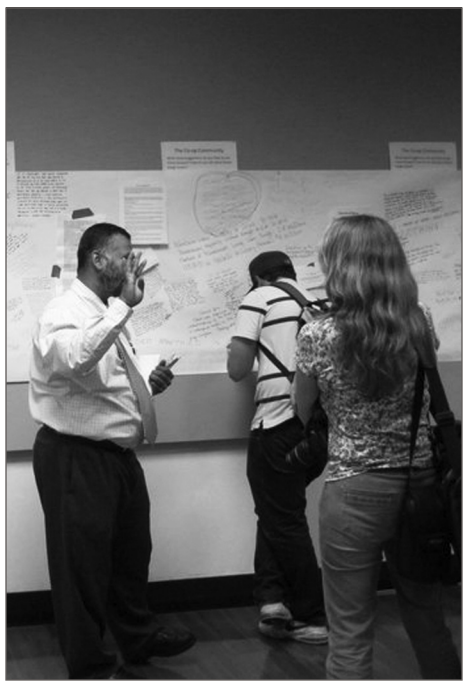
Below anger is usually fear; and I truly love and want to understand my friends' fears. Some of them told me that because of Germany- they are afraid that they will NOT have a safe-place, a citadel or fortress to go and seek refuge. Hence, they support Israel (inspite of secretly disagreeing with it's policies)! Therefore, what I can understand is that we need to make America a truly safe place for our Jewish brethren; they have to feel so much at home and secure here that they don't feel they have to side with Israel (as a Plan B contingency) for worst-case scenario.

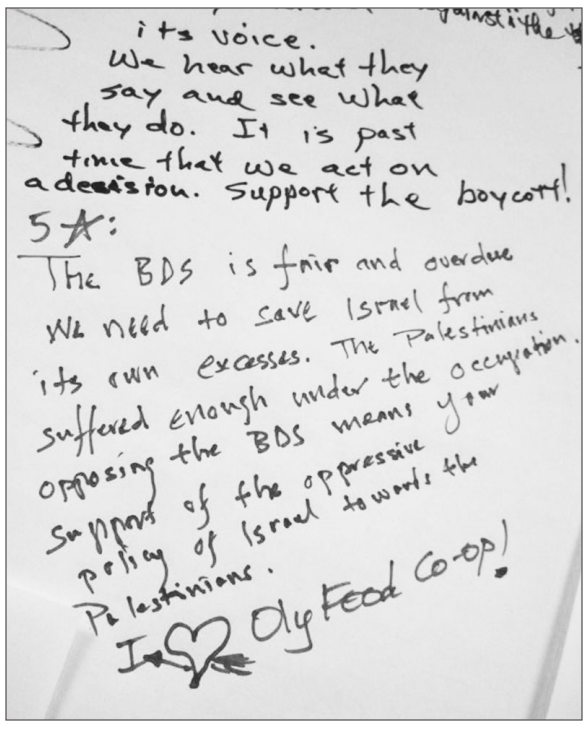
I pray that pro-Israeli Jewish people will continue to work and dialogue on social justice and human rights for Palestinians. When they say "Never again", we hope it is "Never again for all people!" There is no justification for crying after the Palestinian holocaust is over and 6 million Palestinians have been killed. I commend you for taking action while the holocaust is in process by slow starvation and ethnic cleansing.

Lastly, in closing, I'd like to request you all to arrange a similar forum after Ramadan, which started on Aug 12th and shall continue through September 9th or so. 600 members of the Muslim community were unable to participate in this discussion which is near and dear to their hearts. That is because anger negates the purpose of the fast. They kept away for that purpose and would like to participate in a similar town-hall meeting. Thank you for having the guts and audacity to take a moral stance in accordance with the by-laws! Please don't rescind or reverse the boycott. Keep it in place. Your members want that.

SCENES FROM THE AUG. 12 OLYMPIA CENTER FORUM
Photos by Kelly Beckham






its voice.
We hear what they say and see what they do. It is past time that we act on a decision. Support the boycott!
5★:
The BDS is fair and overdue
We need to save Israel from its own excesses. The Palestinians suffered enough under the occupation.
opposing the BDS means your support of the oppressive policy of Israel towards the Palestinians.
I ♥ Oly Food Co-op!

Comments from Aug. 12 forum

by Amy Levinson

First they came for the communists, and I did not speak out--
because I was not a communist;
Then they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out--
because I was not a socialist;
Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out--
because I was not a trade unionist;
Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out--
because I was not a Jew;
Then they came for me--
and there was no one left to speak out for me.
-- Pastor Martin Niemöller (1892–1984), speaking about the inactivity of German intellectuals following the Nazi rise to power and the purging of their chosen targets, group after group.

I am Jewish. My whole family is Jewish. My name is Amy Levinson and I have been an Olympia Food Coop member for thirty years.

Zionists are not spokespeople for me.

I wonder what my family would have said about oppression.

My great grandpa–the head Rabbi of Mariampole, Lithuania–was murdered and buried with much of his family in mass graves by oppressive regimes. My other great grandfather was driven out of Russia with a dead man's passport and two candlesticks to his name leaving behind murdered members of his family by oppressive regimes.

I know they would imploringly question: "How did the oppressed turn into the oppressor?"

I myself ask this, and ask you who are Jewish here tonight to think about the words of one Rabbi: "Each Jew has a responsibility to ensure that no other Jew is a murderer."

These are my questions to you:

Do you defend the land seizure and genocide reaped on the Native Americans?

How about a pastoral people who have continuously dwelt in Palestine at least since the Muslim Conquest of the 7th century who have had their land seized and are subject to genocide?

- Since 1948 out of 475 Palestinian towns and villages, 385 have been completely erased by government of Israel.

Were you supportive of Japanese-American internment camps in the US?

Then why support an "open-air prison" for 1.5 million people in the besieged Gaza Strip?

- 80% of Gazan families currently rely upon humanitarian aid to survive.
- 90% live under martial law, restricting their freedom to travel from town to town; where their children are denied equal opportunities for education; and they are denied decent opportunities for work, and the right to receive "equal pay for equal work?"

How would you feel if you weren't allowed water to drink here?

You would feel like the families in Gaza.

Amy Levinson, in 2006, giving some visiting white-supremacists a properly warm welcome

- 7 percent of drinking water meets the World Health Organizations standards.
- 50 percent of inhabitants are under age 14.
- Israel domestic per capita consumption of water is over three times higher than Palestine, whose residents cannot afford to buy off the private Israeli water-tankers.
- Palestinians private well permits must go through eighteen stages of approval in various administrative departments of a hostile government.
- Palestinians have access to fewer than 30 percent of the water from the three aquifers the Israel government built on their appropriated land. .

Are you upset that 30 percent of both Black and Latino children live in poverty here in the States?

What about the over half of Palestinians who live in poverty?

- 45.7% in the West Bank and 79.4% in Gaza.
- 1 million in deep poverty: defined as those living on less than 50 cents a day.
- In 2006, Israel began withholding taxes around 60 million USD per month.

Are you okay with children being hungry and sick in our country?

- One in 10 Palestinian children now suffers from stunted growth due to compromised health, poor diet and nutrition.
- 50% of Palestinian children are anemic, and 75% of those under 5 suffer from vitamin A deficiency.
- UNICEF claims that roadblocks, barriers, checkpoints and soldiers are impeding health workers and patients, including child patients, from accessing health centers across the Occupied Palestinian Territory.
- 32.7% of children suffer severe levels of post-traumatic stress disorder, 49% moderate levels.

Do you appreciate our juvenile justice laws that keep kids out of adult prisons?

Over the last eight years an estimated 6,700 Palestinian children were arrested and detained in Israeli prison facilities and treated in the same manner as adults.

Are you glad that the Nazis were held accountable in the International Court of Justice?

- In 2004, the International Court of Justice stated that the construction of the wall was illegal and severely impedes the exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination and is a breach of Israel's obligation to respect that right.
- Approximately 35,000 West Bank Palestinians will be located beyond the wall requiring permits to live in their homes and can only leave their communities via a gate in the Wall subject to military interrogation.

Would you want your family home bulldozed by a caterpillar tractor driven by soldiers?

- Since 1967, 18,000 houses Palestinian homes have been demolished in the Occupied Territories.
- The majorities are conducted for 'Administrative' reasons.

Were you outraged over the torture of Abu Ghraib prisoners and water boarding at Guantanomo?

Since the beginning of the Occupation in 1967, over 650,000 Palestinians have been arrested by Israel.

- Almost 95% of them have been subjected to some form of torture.
- Since 1967, over 105 documented torture techniques have been used by Israel. At least 66 Palestinians have been tortured to death.
- To date, no Israeli official has ever been charged and sentenced for torture-related crimes.

Do you think people should die when they live less than five miles from a hospital?

The World Health Organization deplores "the incidents involving lack of respect and protection for Palestinian ambulances and medical personnel as well as the restrictions on movement imposed on them by Israel in violation of international humanitarian law.

- 112 deaths and 35 stillbirths as a result of preventing medical personnel and patients from crossing checkpoints. According to WHO, at least 69 women have given birth at checkpoints, 35 of these newborns and 5 moms have died.

What if basic services were denied to you here in Olympia?

Such as the 150,000 in the Negev and Gallilee, denied essential services.

- including clean drinking water, electricity, roads, transport, sanitation, education, healthcare, postal and telephone service, refuse removal because they are deemed "illegal" residents of their own homes.

What if people started building armed and fortified apartment buildings in your yard?

Israeli settlements are illegal under every basic reading of international law and condemned by numerous United Nations Security Council resolutions.

- There are currently 121 Israeli settlements and 102 Israeli outposts built illegally on Palestinian land
- A total of 9,000 further housing units have been approved in East Jerusalem.
- due to the extensive network of settler roads and restrictions on Palestinians accessing their own land, Israeli settlements dominate more than 40 percent of the West Bank.

How do you express concerns over your government?

In 2005, the US gave Israel more than $2.6 billion in military aid, a budget exceeded only by US aid to Iraq.

- Non violent protests of Israeli Jews and Palestinian protesters have been literally showered in sewage, beaten and sometimes killed in the daily or weekly events.

Do you support racism in the US towards communities of color?

Then why do you support it in Israel?

The ten thousand members of Jewish Voice for Peace state:

- JVP rejects the assertion that BDS is inherently anti-Semitic.
- JVP defends activists' right to use the full range of BDS tactics without being persecuted or demonized.
- We support divestment from and boycotts of companies that profit from Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. This includes companies operating in or from occupied Palestinian territory, exploiting Palestinian labor and scarce environmental resources, providing materials or labor for settlements, or producing military or other equipment or materials used to violate human rights or to profit from the Occupation.

The BDS movement is based on opposition to the following:

- the occupation and colonization of Palestinian lands.
- the denial of the right of return to Palestinian refugees forcibly displaced in 1948 and since.
- the system of racial discrimination against the indigenous Palestinian citizens of Israel.

Why do I as an Olympia Jew support BDS?

It is the only non violent method that demands the accommodation of basic rights, and respect for international law.

- It also appeals explicitly to conscientious Israelis to join us in the struggle to end injustice
- It's the right thing to do.

Viva Palestina!

While *Works In Progress* disagrees that Olympia Co-op members are anti-Semitic simply because they support Palestinian rights and the boycott of Israeli products, we want to remind our readers that the fight against real anti-Semitism, locally and globally, is every bit a part of our broader anti-racist framework. It is vital to our important social justice work, and must always be taken seriously. Please take a moment today to educate yourself about *real* anti-Jewish racism. Be prepared to re-examine your own preconceptions, and be prepared to challenge anti-Semitism when you see it in your community.

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BDS FUN PAGE

www.olympiabds.org

Ali Abunimah

(co-founder of Electronic Intifada)

Boycott: a nonviolent technology for peace and justice in Palestine/Israel

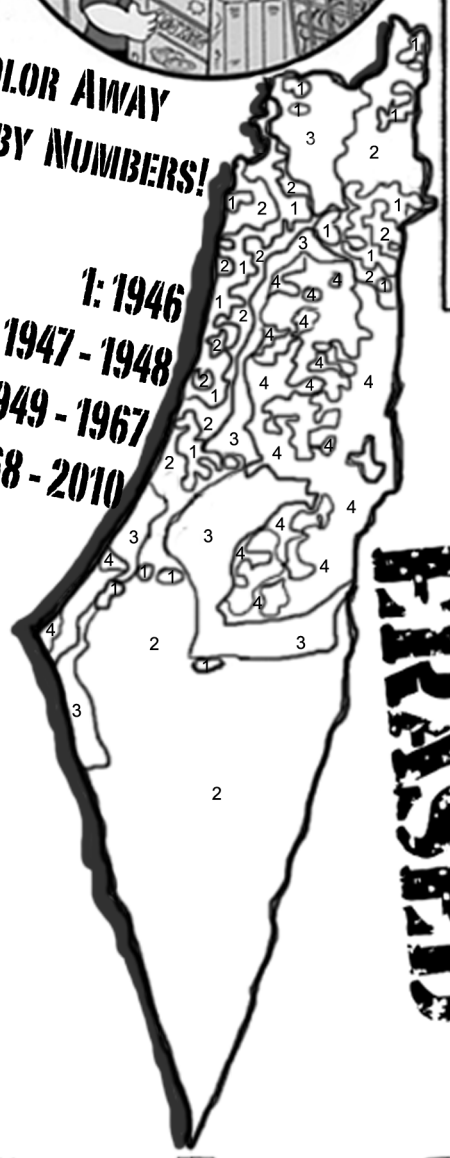
Free!
Tuesday, August 31
7 to 9 pm
Olympia Center
222 Columbia NW
Olympia

Color the Brave Neighbors.

GET FUZZY IN PALESTINE

...so I invited over some guys from the neighborhood association.
RRRUMBLE!!!
Oh my God! Our house is being BULLDOZED!
Yes, but have you considered how much more valuable your house will be once it's MY CONDO?

COLOR AWAY BY NUMBERS!



1: 1946
2: 1947 - 1948
3: 1949 - 1967
4: 1968 - 2010

PALESTINE IS BEING ERASED

MAD LIBS

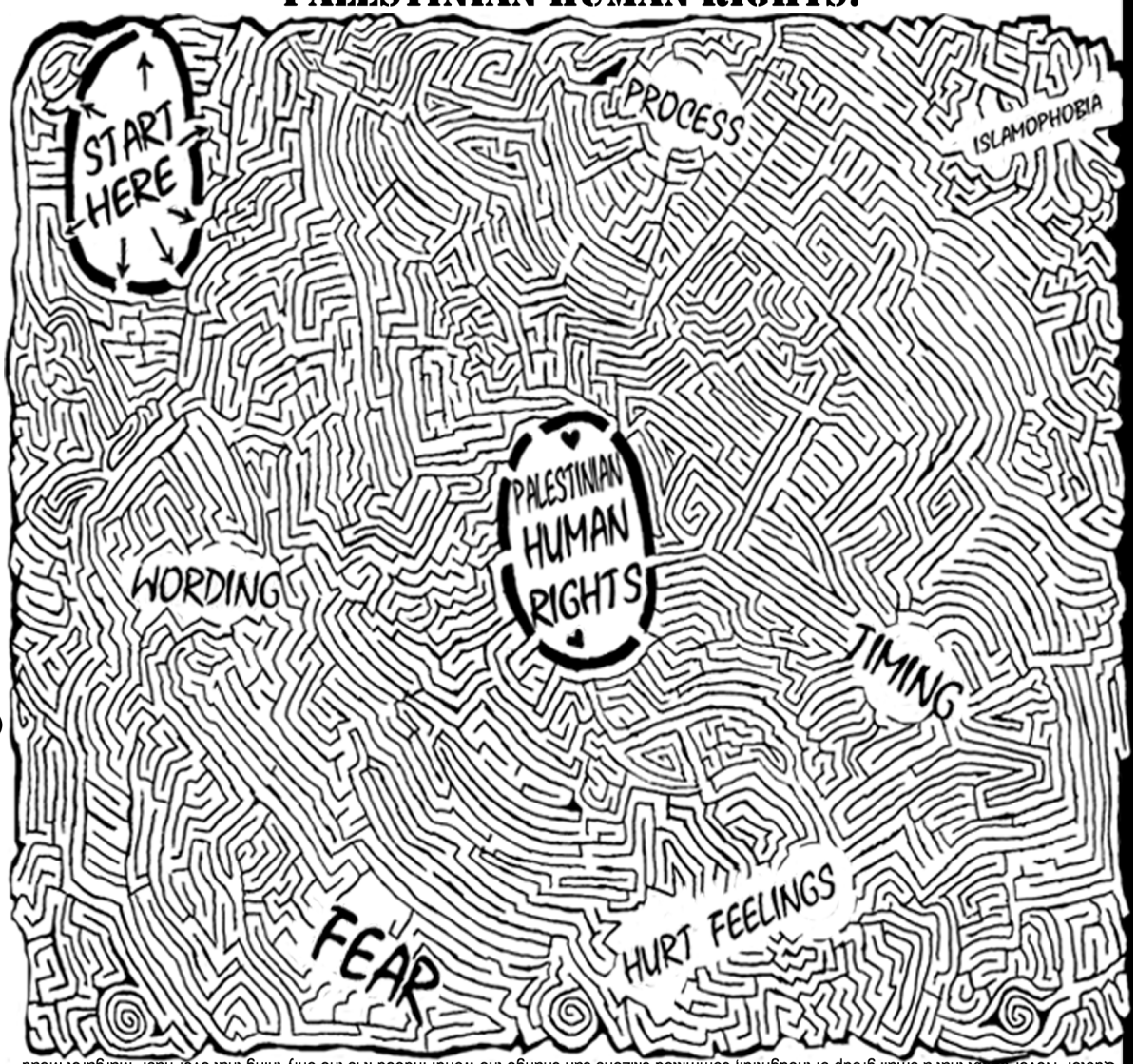
Create Your Own Defense of Human Rights Abuses in Palestine!

1. If you boycott Israel, you have to boycott _____ (noun) too, because Israel invented the _____ (same noun).
2. Why don't you boycott _____ (African or Arab nation) instead of picking on Israel?
3. The process was _____ (adjective).
4. Those _____ (plural slur) want nothing less than to _____ (verb) all Israelis! _____ (incoherent chain of hate speech)!
5. Why aren't you boycotting _____ (company or nation already boycotted by the Co-op)?
6. The U.S. did the same thing to Native Americans. Are you going to give up your _____ (noun) for them? Are you?
7. Boycott is so negative. Can't we elicit change through _____ (verb ending in -ing) with our _____ (plural noun)?

For the answers to these questions and others, visit: www.olympiabds.org!

Maze

DON'T LET THE CONVERSATION BE DERAILED FROM PALESTINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS!



Word Jumble

PIENALTES — 13 62 41 10 64 55 58
YALIDSRIOT — 69 23 68 6 15 61 14 73
NUPIOTOACC — 60 35 43 24 81 39 45 30 1
NOILEENOVNC — 71 75 77 67 70 20 2 52 50 47
AZAG PISTR — 21 79 46 76 49 40 5
FDOO SERVINTYEGO — 27 36 42 16 3 57 22 66 38 56 65 28
HUMNA TIHGRS — 29 8 17 51 48 78 31 12 11 80
ARETAPHID LLWA — 83 82 33 32 4 63 59 84 19 72
POBHISMOLAIA — 44 34 54 37 7 25 53 26 9 74 18

" 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 8 31 32 33 27 8 34 '
35 36 37 17 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 14 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52
35 53 54 55 56 57 11 29 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 63 66 2 42
67 40 68 69 33 12 41 70 71 72 73 33 12 74 75 21
39 32 76 40 57 77 58 78 29 79 80
17 81 82 21 83 5 57 39 17 4 84 6

www.olympiabds.org

Word Jumble Solutions: Palestine. Solidarity. Occupation. Nonviolence. Gaza Strip. Food Sovereignty. Human Rights. Apartheid Wall. Islamophobia.
Quote: "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed it is the only thing that ever has." Margaret Mead

▸ **DIALOGUE,** continued from page 1

from It's Our Co-op announced late at the meeting, their group had collected enough signatures to force a Co-op wide referendum on the boycott, in accordance with the established processes. With a vote to be held by the membership at large, the directors are off the hook for finding a creative resolution to the current division within the Co-op. The fate of the Co-op's boycott is now in the hands of its membership.

This vote will not happen for another month at the very earliest (and perhaps not even until next year), leaving us all plenty of time to keep the dialogue going until then.

The "other side"

The Olympia Center forum was mediated by members of the Pierce County Dispute Resolution Center. The facilitator stressed early and often that people should speak from their own experiences, and not make categorical generalizations about the "other side." Rules were posted on the writing sheets in the back to the same effect, and also asking people to refrain from posting racist remarks. While the majority of the comments that night, on both sides the debate, both spoken and written, were made in good faith to the spirit of these ground rules, unfortunately not all were. By the end of the night a number of written remarks on the wall were covered with little tags saying the comments underneath "may not meet" the guidelines.

When the hearing first began, this spirit of mutual respect was encouraged with some acknowledgments everyone was asked to agree to with a show of hands. We were asked to recognize that we were all there because we love the Co-op, and that we're simply in a disagreement over how our love of the Co-op should be expressed. We were asked to openly recognize that the "other side" isn't a monolithic group with a single background. We were asked to recognize that despite our passionate differences on this subject, we are still all human beings with human concerns and human motivations, and that we are still, indeed, a community.

Indeed, one thing I didn't expect when all this started was that I'd find some of my friends on the "other side." People I'd worked with for years on a number of important progressive issues were waving their hands in agreement during anti-boycott speakers, and signing the It's Our Co-op petition. I'm sure the same feeling was had from the "other side." People who found the boycott appalling were equally surprised to find their friends among its supporters.

At times, emotions have run very high. One woman, holding a tiny Israeli flag, used her minute of speaking time to tear up her membership card in front of the board, and promptly leave the hearing. Other boycott opponents indicated a distinct urge to do the same thing, but refrained in the hopes the boycott would be overturned. Alternatively, a boycott opponent relayed a distressing incident from earlier in the evening. As she was handing out anti-boycott flyers on behalf of It's Our Co-op, one person took a flyer, and then remarked, "Thank you. It's good to know what the enemy thinks." She told this person "I am not your enemy," to which he replied, "Yes you are."

Given this passionate response on both sides, many have pejoratively suggested this boycott has divided the community. While it can easily appear so on the surface, that's not really what's happening here. The community at large has been divided on this issue for a long time. Many will recall, three years ago, there was a hotly contentious City Council hearing discussing whether the city of Olympia should adopt a formal sister-city relationship with Rafah, in Gaza. The community was divided just the same back then, and this boycott had nothing to do with that.

What's happening right now isn't that we're becoming divided. It's that we're finally talking about it. Both sides, despite their strong beliefs and the deep emotions involved, are finally communicating with *each other*, instead of discussing the issue insularly among the like-minded. It's out in the open, out of the closet, and we're now forced to address it head on. While this is an understandable and acceptable first reaction to the boycott as it was passed, ultimately, this position cannot be insisted upon for long. To do so would be equivalent to a suggestion that this issue return to the closet from where it came. Granted, there's lot of intense emotions on both sides, which can make a dialogue hard, but as I will demonstrate, such a dialogue is necessary at this time, and it's healthy for the community. Talking about all the issues involved, constructively and with respect to each other, will move us forward, not backward.

People in Olympia, on all sides of the issue, are now talking about Israel-Palestine in a way they haven't since the death of Rachel Corrie, if not ever.

Let's have a dialogue

Indeed, I am not the first here to call for a dialogue. People on both sides of the Co-op debate have stressed the need to reach out to those we disagree with. The It's Our Co-op flyer, distributed at the Olympia Center forum, read in part: "We believe that developing a space for genuine dialogue is what was missing in the first place and what is needed now. To create that space we have asked the OFC board to rescind the vote and restock the now-banned products."

While "Let's have a dialogue" is a great suggestion, at times it seems elevated to a political position in and of itself. In the days just after the boycott was passed, opponents protested on the street outside the Eastside store, holding a long banner which read "Let's have a dialogue."

To start, I have a few problems with framing "Let's have a dialogue" as one's political position. First of all, it's not *really* a position. It doesn't advance anything. It doesn't respond to anything. It's not falsifiable. Why would anyone have any reason to oppose this? I like dialogue. I'd be inclined to join such a pro-dialogue group, until I find out that what it really stands for is opposition to the boycott; then I wouldn't, because I *support* the boycott. But I still like dialogue.

Second, there's a level of contradiction involved, in that many of us in the community have *been* having a dialogue on Israel-Palestine, openly, honestly, and in good faith. While a perusal through the *Works In Progress* archive shows a noticeable but minimal amount of material on Israel-Palestine prior to the death of Rachel Corrie in 2003, the coverage has been extensive ever since. This coverage has consisted of national and global reprints from respected sources such as Electronic Intifada and Mondoweiss, including the perspectives and personal experiences of those embroiled in the situation we wish to discuss, supplemented with (dare we be immodest) insightful local analysis. The topics have included direct reporting on human rights abuses in Palestine, current trends in Israeli politics, the political dynamics regarding Israel-Palestine here in the States, and weighing strategies and tactics for social change.

It's especially disturbing, as a supporter of the boycott, when this is framed as an opposition position. Prior to the Co-op boycott, *WIP* received no contrary letters to the editor or submissions or anything, just an occasional personal admonishment to a random member of our staff that we need to be "more fair to Israel." Now, all submissions are subject to our editorial policy on Page 2, and *WIP* is very particular when it comes to printing material we perceive as incongruent with our values, even when submitted by our friends and long-time contributors (meaning, we're not going to print just anything that defends Israel just because it's submitted to us). But we do print such material occasionally, and try to work with authors to resolve specific issues. Before the boycott, we had received no pro-Israel submissions to even review, or even contrary letters to the editor regarding Israel or Palestine, going as far back as the current staff can recall.

And *Works In Progress* is hardly the only venue for such a dialogue. Palestine solidarity activists have pushed the issue for years. Community organizations have hosted countless public events, similar to the recent Olympia BDS presentation at Traditions Café. And more recently, when the Evergreen State College agreed to divest from Israel three months ago, surely that was reason for concerned community members to get the discussion started.

Once again, I don't mean to frame this as a dishonest position, necessarily. It's just confusing. I don't know exactly what dialogue is requested, and it's not made clear or specific, so it's hard to critically evaluate the suggestion that there hasn't been a dialogue, or to actively respond to the call for dialogue now. There's only two things I can do: I can posit that there's been sufficient opportunity to discuss Palestine and Israel within the community (and that such opportunities will continue), and I can continue to discuss it with people I know and work with, as I always have.

There is some gray area in this situation on whether there was sufficient dialogue specifically about this boycott proposal leading up to its implementation. BDS organizers were present, and made their case. Pro-boycott staff members were involved in that discussion, as were anti-boycott staff members. What seems to be up in the air is whether the hearing was inclusive of organized opposition. Was this done in secret, leaving no chance for the boycott opposition to organize a response? Or was the information sufficiently "out there?" Was it posted somewhere visible, and were anti-boycott staff members *able* to organize a response, and didn't?

I wasn't there personally, so I'm not in a position to say who's right or who's wrong. If this hearing was done in surprise fashion, then it is disturbing and unfortunate (although ultimately, I would still agree with the boycott as it stands now, based on my belief that, in most situations, the process is secondary to the result). If, however, there was adequate notification, in the Co-op news, on the store's message board, and if anti-boycott staff members knew in advance this was coming up, then it wasn't unfair at all. Then it would just be a case of the opposition dropping the ball, and failing to adequately organize a response. That's not Olympia BDS's fault. That's not the Co-op's fault. They aren't, as some have suggested, required to seek out a community opposition group on any issue, especially one that isn't regularly keeping abreast of what's going on at their Co-op.

But thankfully, the Olympia Food Co-op's processes are democratic enough that the ruling, even if done without input from the opposition, and even if made by the Board of Directors (who are there to make such decisions) instead of a full consensus of every staff member and volunteer, isn't set in stone. The process allows for democratic review in the form of a membership-wide referendum, which is what the opposition has initiated. The system works!

Finally, in regards to call for dialogue, one thing we can all agree on is that we are most certainly having a dialogue now. People in Olympia, on all sides of the issue, are now talking about Israel-Palestine in a way they haven't since the death of Rachel Corrie, if not *ever*. This boycott, whether you agree with it or not, has forced the issue locally in a way even the raid on the Mavi Marmara hadn't. And indeed, perhaps the opposition has already moved beyond the "Let's have a dialogue" stage, and I haven't become aware of it yet.

With that said, it's time to move beyond calls for dialogue. We're all ready to take our honest positions on the boycott, as it stands, pro and con, to acknowledge our diversity of perspectives, to respect each other's maturity and motivations, and to hash this sucker out.

Unfortunately, many people out there simply have no interest in thinking critically on Israel/Palestine whatsoever. At times, this makes a community-level analysis and discussion difficult or even impossible.

Why I support BDS

I support the boycott because:

1) I oppose the ongoing genocide of the Palestinian people (as explained in the sidebar), the denial of Palestinian sovereignty, the expropriation of Palestinian land by the state of Israel, and the growing apartheid-analogous situation in Israel's occupied territory and in Israel proper

2) These conditions, in particular the territorial expropriation, have only escalated in recent years,

3) It is thus imperative that we act now, not only because the situation is intolerable from a standpoint of human decency, but additionally to prevent this genocide from seeing completion,

4) Israel has held itself above any attempts at accountability in this matter, and thus the burden falls to us to enforce accountability, and

5) I believe this is one of the most, if not the most, effective of strategies to compel Israel to comply with international law and to respect human rights.

As this isn't a moral position, but rather a tactical position with a moral impetus, it is subject to change; my belief in fighting for justice will not change, but if a boycott of Israeli goods no longer appears to have the desired effect, I would withdraw my support for BDS. I'm not married to the idea of BDS, and I do not feel in the fiber of my being the need to boycott Israeli products. I simply feel the need to either work for the best strategy toward effecting the desired change, or to throw my rhetorical support behind those who do.

Dissected as such, we can now proceed with a dialogue on a number of different bases. We can discuss the reality between Israel and Palestine (a la "Is it as bad as you say it is?"), and/or we can discuss tactics and strategies for change. In this sense, I believe I have approached the situation open-mindedly, embracing of a constructive dialogue, and prepared to be convinced by the right argument.

Before getting into the Israel-Palestine conflict and all its complexities, let's address the tactical considerations of BDS as a strategy. I continue to find arguments presented against the boycott, as a strategy, unconvincing, and often unimaginative.

For example, a number of ideas of other things we can do to help the Palestinian cause have been suggested. But the problem there is twofold. First, these are often suggested as things we should be doing instead of BDS. There's nothing stopping us from engaging in both. Truly, I agree with many of these suggestions, and we should engage in a diversity of tactics whenever possible. So these are not really a response to BDS, even if they are often framed as such.

A response must, as its basis, suggest why we should not be engaged in BDS. Second, many alternative suggestions – writing our congressperson, writing letters to the editor, submitting a five-year "peace plan" to the Israeli government – are simply ineffectual, as evidenced by the fact that people have been doing them literally for decades, and the situation has only gotten worse. These are not actions with the goal in mind, and with a clear vision of the path that will take us there, and we need both of those things if we are to succeed.

Some have suggested the local BDS campaign is a failure just by virtue of the fact that it has met stiff resistance. They have suggested organizers find a less confrontational, more non-violent way to support the Palestinians. The fault with this is the equating of controversy with violence and with failure. Non-violent has never meant "without resistance." The most storied acts of non-violent protest in history were often met with brutal violence. And despite the non-violent, almost docile nature of the actual protests (like Mahatma Gandhi's salt march), these actions were often quite controversial in their day. And they succeeded! Controversy was an obstacle, to be sure, but never a deal-breaker. Plus, it's important to remember, the controversy in many historical examples of successful activist movements revolved around the offending practice itself, and existed independent of the activism to challenge it. Thus, the strategy can be examined in light of its likelihood of success, and not strictly in terms of the resistance it's likely to receive.

Some have argued that BDS isn't worthwhile because the actual monetary impact is negligible. But there are a couple problems with this argument. First, while it's true that the removal of some ice cream cones, gluten-free crackers and moisturizing cream in two small grocery stores on the other side of the world is of little financial consequence, this denies the impact of the multitude of successful BDS campaigns across the globe, all acting as a cohesive unit together. Recently, a Hebrew-language article on Yediot detailed the major financial impact on settler industries in the West Bank:

> *"Since the Palestinians announced a boycott on products from the territories, I have had a 40% drop in production in recent monhs," said yesterday Avi Ben-Zvi, owner of Pastco, a glass plant in Ariel. "Exports to Europe have completely stopped, and traders in the territories have stopped working with us. The damage is huge."*
>
> [Translation courtesy of Israeli news blog Coteret.]

Second, the actual financial impact of BDS is, perhaps, a secondary result. The primary consequence of BDS is the de-legitimization of the offender in the eyes of the world. And de-legitimization works! Israel's parliament, the Knesset, spent four days over breakfast talking about how this little grocery store in little Olympia, Washington refused to continue stocking Israeli products. A bill was even proposed that would make it illegal for Israeli citizens to advocate for BDS. De-legitimization, while it may do nothing in and of itself to persuade an offender to change, it accompanies a limitless host of corollary consequences – lost trade (beyond just that caused directly by stated boycotts), international isolation, lack of access to new technologies, increased dissatisfaction among the offending nation's citizenry with an unaccountable government bringing these consequences upon them. In the wake of the raid on the Mavi Marmara, the effect of BDS on Israel currently is snowballing.

Thus, while I endeavor to continue my critical reassessment, much of the historical and tactical criticisms of BDS have left me unconvinced. Alternatively, as I review arguments presented by Olympia BDS organizers (such as in Phan Nguyen's boycott FAQ in last month's issue of *WIP*), I find them as convincing as ever. By choosing to engage in BDS as our strategy of choice, we're maximizing the impact relative to the work involved, whereas many of our alternatives maximize the work relative to the impact. BDS is a historically proven strategy, widely acknowledged as the key to ending the decades-long, once-daunting struggle against South African apartheid. BDS is a strategy of winners.

The difficulties of Israel-Palestine dialogue

There are many difficulties with trying to have an open, honest, critical discussion on the Israel-Palestine conflict. First off, the discussion almost always gets bogged down in specific complexities involved in the conflict, rather than the broad identifiable themes. This tendency means discussions often devolve into arguments over the veracity of particular obscure historical facts. While these facts may be of interest to academic historians, and while they may have a nominal relevance to what's going on, they do nothing to bring us closer to a real understanding of the conflict and how the conflict relates to us and the people embroiled in it.

This apparent complexity in the conflict is sometimes mistaken for obscurity, and that in turn is cited as a basis for inaction in the face of what are grave injustices and human rights abuses. However, a situation can be both complex in its intricacies, and at the same time clear as to its sources and its consequences. For example, drowning involves a host of biological processes interacting with one another in complex ways, but both the source and the consequence are quite clear.

When engaging in discussions on the Israel-Palestine conflict, emotions run high on all sides. Unfortunately, many people out there simply have no interest in thinking critically on the subject whatsoever. At times, this makes a community-level analysis and discussion difficult or even impossible. Such a discussion requires the good faith of its participants, and even one or two people operating in bad faith can do a lot to obstruct it.

This situation is complicated by the fact that the tools for dialogue-obstruction are all easily accessible. First, the acknowledged complexity makes it easy for those operating in bad faith to make the situation appear even more complex than it already is, and thus making it even more foreboding to those wishing to honestly examine and understand it, while derailing knowledgeable good-faith participants into irrelevant side-arguments over minutia. Racism also makes it easy to derail discussion. The racist stereotypes, both of Arabs and of Jews, which we are exposed to through the media and through interactions with people who harbor such stereotypes, are often accepted as carrying weight, while never being properly examined or questioned. Thus, honest and critical discussion of the Israel-Palestine conflict, which involves peoples for whom extremely negative racist stereotypes proliferate around the globe, is easily hampered by making direct appeals to those stereotypes, or indirectly by wantonly invoking elements from those stereotypes in an otherwise incoherent fashion. In this way, people operating in bad faith will often try to drive the discussion off such cliffs as "Arabs are all terrorists with links to Al-Qaeda," or "The Jews who run the media won't tell you the real story." And, when all else fails, a good ol' fashioned lie will always do the trick. As Mark Twain once said, "A lie can travel halfway 'round the world while the truth is putting on its shoes."

I illustrate all this simply as a way of showing the futility of trying to provide an adequate set of arguments dissecting the Israel-Palestine conflict here in this text. Even whole books are not adequate to address all the nuances. I've provided a sidebar to at least lay a groundwork for discussion and for further personal research, and to minimally, for the purposes of this article, justify this basic position: The state of Israel and its collaborators are committing genocide against the people of Palestine.

The good news is, a lot has been written about it, and it's a great topic for this community dialogue we all want to have! Also, right now, with the Co-op boycott, Olympia is enjoying an influx of high-profile guest speakers with extensive knowledge on Israel and Palestine. In some ways, those of us who wish to have a clear and honest dialogue on Israel-Palestine have never had a better opportunity, and we've certainly never had a more pressing motivation.

Unchecked cynicism on both sides guarantees that Palestine solidarity activists will continue to exert influence within community institutions without regard to the objections of the pro-Israel community - and will have some success in their endeavors - and that the pro-Israel community will continue to obstruct their work at every step of the way.

Obstructions to dialogue

While there have been many empowering discussions, made in good faith, and directly relating to the topics relevant to the boycott, there has also been a disturbing trend of cynical and hurtful rhetoric. Indeed, cynicism is itself an obstacle to a fair and honest dialogue. Cynicism assumes the bad faith of the other party, and pragmatically decides that that makes it okay to act in bad faith in return. In real terms, unchecked cynicism on both sides guarantees that Palestine solidarity activists will continue and continue to exert influence within community institutions without regard to the objections of the pro-Israel community - and will have some success in their endeavors - and that the pro-Israel community will continue and continue to obstruct their work at every step of the way. Therefore, regardless of whether you support the boycott or oppose it, unless you simply live for the drama, it's in all our best interests to resist the urge to give into cynicism, thus enabling an honest, open, and frank dialogue about the relevant issues.

What follows is a list of cynical rhetorical devices common to the boycott opposition movement which are obstructive to dialogue. Of course a comparable list could be made of the different types of cynical rhetoric on the part of boycott supporters. In fact, I would be very interested in reading such a list compiled by someone in opposition to the boycott. But I am biased, which means I tend to find the cynicism of those I disagree with to appear more pronounced and ugly, and the cynicism of those I agree with reassuring or otherwise invisible.

The point here is not to defame any one side or any one position as being the sole party to obstruction. These behaviors are undertaken by individuals and in no way reflect upon everyone across-the-board who opposes the boycott, just as dialogue-obstructing behaviors among individual boycott supporters do not reflect on all supporters. The point here is to identify cynical argumentative trends, so that we can all learn to recognize them, and so that those of us wishing to discuss the issues honestly and in good faith can avoid these pitfalls.

It should be noted at this point that cynicism itself is not equivalent with bad faith or a particular ill will. In fact, cynicism represents, on some level, a lack of *hope* that traditional means of honest influence and open discourse will be effective in achieving a desired result. It's an expression of frustration related to the feeling that one isn't really being heard or that their viewpoint or argument isn't being given its due consideration. Actually, cynicism can at times be a quite healthy response, because one can find one's self in that exact situation. The important distinction to make here is that even when hope is lacking, some people still *want* to hope, and thus are making good faith efforts even through their intermittent cynicism, while others on the other hand, have no interest in hope at all. Translated, this means that just because someone you disagree with resorts to cynical remarks, perhaps even semi-frequently, does not mean they're a "lost cause." I do not mean to suggest that just because someone listed below or anywhere else made a cynical remark once that it means they are willfully and maliciously out to sabotage the discourse. It does mean, however, that they will have to set their cynicism completely aside at the moment they intend to engage in any dialogue across political viewpoints, and that it is their responsibility not to let their expressions of frustration *take the place* of what should be their reasoned arguments.

First and foremost among the cynical responses are the patently absurd suggestions. "Everyone's guilty of something, so you'd have to boycott everything, and you'd be left with an empty store." "America's an even worse human rights violator than Israel. Good luck trying to boycott America." Or, a list of common items will be provided which Israel supposedly invented, with a suggestion that you have to purge yourself of all Israeli inventions if you want to criticize Israel and not be a hypocrite.

What defines these absurd suggestions is a presupposition of the impossibility of successful consequence, or successful implementation. Translated, this means they are failing suggestions from people who, incidentally, want BDS to fail. Thus, these suggestions are, of their very definition, made in bad faith. Furthermore, the implied analogy of these failing strategies to the Co-op boycott and the BDS strategy is inappropriate, since (as argued earlier) BDS has a

▸ **COMMUNITY,** continued on page 24

WIP History

Normal months, *WIP* reprints a relevant article from its 20 year history, or a new article on a historical topic. This month however, space considerations have relegated our chosen reprint to the website only.

In 2007, the Olympia progressive community and the Zionist community packed City Hall, as the City Council was considering adopting an official Olympia-Rafah sister-city arrangement. Ultimately, it was rejected by the Council, based on racist stereotyping and manipulative rhetoric by the pro-Israel speakers, and based on a racist idea that Israel inherently has dominion over Palestinian efforts at autonomy.

Find out the whole story by reading "City council rejects Rafah sister city, dialogue," by Phan Nguyen, from May 2007. Available at www.olywip.org

Statement from anti-boycott Co-op member

by Susan Trinin

Works in Progress, Volume 21, No. 4, August 2010 reported on the Olympia Food Co-op Boycott of Israeli products. Several pages were devoted to this issue. As a consequence of the Board's actions, reaction has been registered. Ad hoc committees have been formed to address this controversy. The WIP editorial staff has offered the It's Our Co-op group space to express an opinion/offer facts/make an argument. This group does not have an official voice. This is offered as a counterpoint to the coverage by WIP, and is not intended as representative of any views but those of the author. I am grateful for the opportunity to participate in freedom of speech and of the press. -- *Susan Trinin*

We, the citizens of the United States, like to invoke, to tout, democracy. The best form of self-government. Democracy. We even export this idea, forcibly. We are the imperialists, touting democracy, insisting on its adoption all over the globe. At gunpoint.

We sometimes overlook the reality of the tyranny of the democratic majority. Fifty-one percent can do many good things in the face of opposition; fifty-one percent can do great harm. What is Right is not always Popular; what is Popular is not always Right. Our governing documents–the U.S. Constitution, Bill of Rights, Bylaws of Non-profit Organizations–protect the vulnerable minority from just such tyranny. Fifty-one percent can keep gays from marrying; our Constitution assures all have equal rights.

We, the members of the Olympia Food Co-op, like to invoke, to tout, collectivism, diversity, enfranchisement, consensus-based decision making. These are ideals not reflected in our Boycott Policy. This policy is, and has always been, fundamentally flawed. This policy, as written, and as implemented removes the very lynch pin of freedom: **choice**. Decisions are made, choices are made, by a few on behalf of many. Important choices–political, economic, social, even spiritual–made without representation or thoughtful review. A great philosopher, Jean Paul Sartre, equated freedom with choice–to be free is to have personal choice and vice versa.

This Boycott Policy is an exercise in oligarchy (a form of government in which power is vested in a few persons or in a dominant class or clique). A very small group, proportionately, has made a very divisive decision on behalf of many, without review or discussion.

Let us focus on international politics. Let us evaluate the power of food as weapon, as our economic clout as a weapon. Do we all agree to wield this weapon? Shouldn't this be an individual decision, as one grapples with one's own conscience and value system, to take the Moral High Ground, the Moral Imperative? Doesn't collectivism and consensus-based decision making, and enfranchisement of diversity demand some sort of community involvement?

Who owns the Moral High Ground, the Moral Imperative? (Answer: each of us in our private hearts–may we multiply and energize with those of like minds–but by which rubric? There are many . . .) Before we point fingers at another sandbox, should we not clear out some of the turds in our own? As our proxies kill and maim many innocents each day, and as our innocent, vulnerable youth are sacrificed daily for profit–how do we dare to criticize? Our energies would be much better used to end illegal and immoral wars supported by our tax dollars, in our name! (If you, dear reader, wish to boycott Israeli products supporting human rights, please do so–in other stores, too!)

Specifically, the Boycott, as promulgated by one volunteer cashier (in an eloquently written request), then two members meeting with a staff member at home, then dropped through some process cracks staff-wise (a journal poll with no option to block implementation), thence (how?) to the Board of Directors "to solve." One Board member stated this Boycott action fell directly within the parameters of 1) Mission Statement, 2) Bylaws, and 3) Boycott Policy, so this Board member had no choice but to move forward. This is an unfortunate lapse in acknowledging diversity, and exercising sensitivity to the volatile nature of the issue. More than coded policy should be called to question in such decisions, especially on behalf of 20,000 dues-paying member-owners. When we join the Co-op, must we hand over our freedom of choice?

This Boycott Policy is an exercise in oligarchy (a form of government in which power is vested in a few persons or in a dominant class or clique).

Specifically, the Boycott. Specifically, what will end the Boycott. 1) Ending (Israel's) occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall. Only Egypt and Syria are at peace with Israel–presumably only those Arab states acknowledge Israel's legitimacy as a nation. The remaining Arab states see all of Israel as Arab land. Dismantling the Wall is a great bargaining chip–where is the other ante'? Hamas pledging to withhold bombing Israel? Peace is a two-way street. Give and Get. (But who are we, the United States, the merchandise buying staff committee of the Olympia Food Co-op, the Board of Directors of the Olympia Food Co-op, to dictate?) Both sides should be held accountable, not just Israel. Where are the concessions from Hamas? 2) Recognizing the fundamental rights of Arab/Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality. More proof is needed that Arab/Palestinian Israelis do not enjoy "full equality", i.e. voting rights withheld, citizenship benefits before courts of law, property rights, women's rights. (Ceded: the rights to travel, to make a living, to visit kin are curtailed--shame be on them.) Number two is least defensible. It goes to our own experiences in our United States--immigration and labor abuses by capitalism, xenophobia, a wealth of abuses in our own sandbox. Clean up our own sandbox. Arab/Palestinian rights must be honored, but, conversely, so must Israel's right to exist. This must be part of the conversation. Do we care? We do to the tune of $3 billion! Go there! Stop that, if we really want to cripple Israel. Our co-op order, and this controversy wracking our community won't register at all on the big picture. Just here. In our community. In our cooperative community. For more than 60 years, the Arab states have denied Israel's right to exist. Do we support that? 3) Respecting, protecting, and promoting the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194. Resolution 194 was never binding. General Assembly resolutions only serve as advisory statements. The stipulation refers to Article 11 of the resolution: "Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of our damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible." Please note, "and live at peace with their neighbours." This precludes bombing, suicide or otherwise. This requires the recognition of the right to exist. Also note, the reference to refugees is not specific to Palestinian refugees. Note that the reference to Governments is not specific to Israel's government. This resolution allowed for the fact that both Arab and Jewish populations were displaced by the partition. It is estimated that an equal number of Jews were exiled/expelled from Arab/Muslim countries as their Palestinian counterparts from the new state of Israel. Many Arab refugees were denied asylum or help from their co-religionists. Complicated? Yes. So is our occupation of Native Lands and systematic extermination and cultural annihilation of the original inhabitants. We need to clean up our own sandbox.

These stipulations, published as the requirements to lifting this Boycott are one-sided and unfair. They fail to address the two-sided aspect of any negotiation. Where are the concessions from the other antagonist? Where is the give and get? Couldn't cessation of bombing and recognition of the mere right to exist be brought to the table?

Let us address Human Rights. Let us address the High Moral Ground. Let us not volley atrocities. Human beings commit atrocities. We make recreation and entertainment out of their accounting and examination. Second-hand enjoyment.

Let us address Human Rights: women's rights, civil liberties, freedom of speech, worship--the rights we hold dear. Israel has codified those rights, constitutionally. They are not present, not protected in Gaza, not in most of the Arab world. Israel is a democratic republic with a rule of secular law and guaranteed rights under that law--is Gaza, is Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Oman? The Gaza ruling entity is known as one of the most irrationally oppressive (especially of women) in the Arab world.

The High Moral Ground, the Moral Imperative. Invoking the sandbox metaphor once again, we have turds aplenty to reckon with. Why haven't we, the Olympia Food Co-op community energized against our own illegal/immoral/racist wars? Why haven't we addressed the secret/underground national security government, threatening our civil liberties and privacy? Why do we pour billions into the pockets of the rich, the insurance conglomerates, the military/industrial complex and its subsidiaries? Why do we have a homeless population living in the woods? Why are veterans and mentally ill criminally neglected? As deplorable as the situation is in Gaza, how about here at home?

Are we imperialists ideologically as well as militarily and economically? Not to mention our consumption/pollution profiles. We are destructive. Yes, we are. Are we comfortable with that? This issue, and the recalcitrant position taken by the Board of Directors, is destroying our community. We need flexibility, and we need conversation, not just listening. How can we be comfortable with destruction?

We should say no to imperialism, in all its forms, idealogic as well as with ordinance. No to absolutism without recognition of culpability and responsibility by both parties in a conflict. Most of all, we must say no to oligarchy, the rule of the few. It is not cooperative, it is not cooperative. The Boycott Policy is the antithesis of consensus. The Board decision of 7/15/10 should be rescinded, in the spirit of diversity, dialogue, and, ultimately, freedom=choice. Let the members make their own decisions. Give us freedom.

Susan Trinin is a Co-op member/volunteer and a one-time Co-op Board member.

Works In Progress is alternative media, committed to giving a voice to those excluded from mainstream outlets. _WIP_ has a firm commitment to progressive values and social justice struggles, which includes an unwavering commitment to the struggle for Palestinian sovereignty.

While _WIP_ believes in freedom of speech, we are not in the business of using our volunteer labor to advance material which we find incongruent with these values.

However, when there's an issue of particular interest to the Olympia community at large, we are open to the possibility of printing a perspective we would not otherwise. We do this, not out of a misguided obligation to be "objective" (which, often, is interpreted as "uncritical"), but because that perspective is, at times like this, of interest to our readers.

When printing such material, we endeavor to preserve the author's own voice, to present it in a fair manner, and to avoid sensationalization.

We are always interested in feedback regarding this and all our editorial policies from our loyal readership.

The story behind It's Our Co-op's petition

by Susan Trinin

Sunday, July 18, I received a phone call from Tibor Breuer, a long-time friend who served two terms on the Olympia Food Co-op Board of Directors nearly two decades ago. Tibor had just learned of the action taken by the Olympia Food Co-op Board of Directors July 15, 2010, and he was extremely upset. After discussion, he insisted that some sort of protest be initiated to address the Board's decision. I suggested circulating a petition to express our dismay and concern, and to rally like-minded people. As this seemed a reasonable first step, I offered to draft language for the proposed petition.

In the wake of these events, more and more members of the community were disturbed and mobilized; people began to coalesce into groups for discussion and exploration of the issues and formulate plans for engagement. One ad hoc committee was formed with members of Temple Beth Hatfiloh at its core. It's Our Coop grew out of this core group, and includes members of the Olympia community at large. Hours of earnest and emotional discussion refined my original draft, and a campaign of picketing, collecting signatures, setting up information tables, and listening sessions with OFC Board of Directors, proponents of the action, members of the Jewish community and It's Our Coop was initiated.

Most of the efforts focused on the East Side store, with fewer events at the West Side. It's Our Coop circulated a succinct version of my original draft: "As members of the Olympia Food Co-op, we the undersigned respectfully request that the Olympia Food Co-op Board of Directors rescind its recent decision to support a boycott of Israel and open the discussion up for a community discussion and community vote." More than 350 signatures have been collected.

These were active Co-op shoppers; a large range of reactions and comments were expressed during these events. Some supporters of the Boycott reported being very upset by the abrupt, unilateral action of the Board. Opinions regarding inappropriate political actions being taken by the Co-op (on behalf of an uninformed, unconsulted membership) outside its role as a grocery were expressed, as well.

Some, more general, problems surfaced: people reported having serious trouble with the product selection process itself (7th Generation paper products were specifically mentioned), and the lack of adequate product labeling in the cosmetic/HABA section was criticized.

Many, many comments centered around consumer choice . The Co-op's role being seen primarily more appropriate as supplying information about national/international political/social/economic actions to the membership, allowing personal decisions to be made on these issues. Education of the consumer seemed more in line with our tenets and precepts than precipitous decisions made by few on behalf of many.

> ...we are working to explore one small strategy to improve the region's stewardship and care for its natural resources, and just maybe provide a model that is more sustainable than is present in the current political-economy.

There have been many opportunities for the different factions of our community to meet and express concerns and outrage, including the public forum arranged by the Co-op BOD 8/12/10. These opportunities were enhanced by professional, outside facilitation. This has been somewhat productive. Folks have had their "two minute allowance" to express themselves. (Initially promised two minutes, as time/agenda became compressed, many people were given ninety, or sixty seconds.) However, there has been little, if any, response from the members of the Board of Directors. They're listening, but they're not responding--there have been exposition and declarations, but no dialogue.

The Board of Directors must take action. Real give-and-take discussion must occur regarding this controversial and divisive issue. A vote by the membership must be scheduled. The Boycott Policy must be evaluated and either modified and retooled altogether. Related issues brought up by this conflict should be addressed by the Olympia Food Co-op and its governing bodies (staff and BOD alike).

The original petition language I drafted follows--it was adapted to allow brief contacts with busy shoppers. This issue is too incendiary, devisive, and destructive to our Community to let languish.

"We, the undersigned, ask respectfully that the Board of Directors for the Olympia Food Co-op set aside the recent decision to boycott products from Israel.

One of many dialogue sessions outside the Food Co-op front door - Photo by Mike Coday

"We respectfully request this important, controversial decision be opened to a public forum (with outside mediation) before implementation.

"According to the tenets of the Olympia Food Co-op, diversity of opinion is valued; consideration of diversity is paramount to action. We urge the Board of Directors of the Olympia Food Co-op to open discussion on this issue, honoring the diversity in our community, honoring our community.

"We respectfully request an analysis of our current policy concerning boycotts.

"We submit that economic, political and social policy on behalf of a large membership should not be enacted, should not be solely in the purvey of a small group of individuals, acting without community review and discussion.

"Democracy is messy. The staff was unable to reach consensus on this issue. Consensus is even more messy.

"Let's DISCUSS, let's DEBATE, Let ALL VOICES BE HEARD before policy is enacted by a small grooup!

"Oligarchy is not so messy, but it is not cooperative."

Kids 15 and under FREE!
Olympia Family Barter Faire
September 10-12, 2010
Nature's Creation Organic Farm
Matlock, WA
Membership to OFBF
$25 advanced at www.buyolimpia.com
$30 at the Event $15 One Day Membership

Open letter to the Olympia Food Co-op

An (actual) progressive's critique of the Olympia Food Co-op boycott

by Marco Rosaire Rossi

Dear Olympia Food Co-op Board,

For the past few weeks I have been closely following the on-going debates concerning the Board of the Olympia Food Co-op's decision to boycott products made from Israel (with the one exception of Palestinian-Israeli olive oil). I have had an intense interest in these debates not only for personal reasons—being at one time an employee of the Olympia Food Co-op, and seeing some of heartache and turmoil that this debate has caused some of the people in Olympia that I know and love—but also for political reasons. Over the years, I have come to realize the importance that the conflict in Israel/Palestine has on not just the middle east, but also the world. It seems to me that a liberated Palestine would not only do a lot of good for the immediate parties involved—greater security for Israelis, and of course greater freedoms for Palestinians—but would also compel the United States to seriously reconsider its ambitions to control middle east energy resources, and would provide inspirational guidance to other peoples in the world who are engaging in their own struggles for self-determination.

I would concur with many that not only action—much dramatic action!—needs to be taken against Israel for its numerous crimes against the Palestinian people and its non-Jewish populations. I have no qualms with the notion that every Israeli Prime Minister since the creation of the state has been guilty of war crimes, crimes against humanity, or both; that Israel—as it now stands—is a rogue state that disregards international norms and standards; that it is a nation that has continuously threaten the entire region through its wars of aggression and its nuclear weapons program. However, even though I can acknowledge that the threat is real and that the stakes are high, I cannot say that I fully support the OFC's boycott as it now stands, or any blanket boycott of all of Israel as it has been called for by the Palestinian BDS National Committee. I am against such boycotts because I fear that such boycotts are sidetracking the movement for Palestinian liberation by creating undo divisiveness in communities, hypocrisies among activists, and helping to galvanize the far-right in Israel.

I want to be clear though, that this does not mean I support the position that there should be no boycott of Israel. Rather, I think that any BDS campaign would have its maximum effect if it was well structured around international laws. I have come to this conclusion after much debate and research with fellow activists here in Chicago on this issue. Last year, I was working with others to support the city of Chicago dissolving its sister-city relationship with Petah Tikva, Israel. Initially, I agreed with my colleagues that the only way to bring Israel in-line with standards of decency would be to support a complete boycott of the country. As time went on, and I began investigating the matter more fully, I changed my mind. I proposed to the group that a better strategy would be to have a BDS campaign that is directed against businesses profiting from the occupation, but my pleads fell on deaf ears. I wasn't been able to convince many of my friends and fellow activists of this position, and eventually decided to quietly leave the group.

I know the discussions and debates in Olympia over BDS and Israel are happening internationally, and there are certain trends in the BDS movement that I find disturbing. Frankly, I'm seeing many groups making fatal mistakes in their choice of tactics often based on historical misunderstandings and skewed concepts of the situation in Israel itself. One person who I contacted over these issues, and who has helped formed my opinion on them, is Norman Finkelstein—who I think is someone who offers some of the best analysis out there on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He has expressed to me personally and through published interviews that he has some serious concerns about how BDS campaign have been occurring, specifically how "people are getting a little too cult-like about BDS" and how "frankly, (he doesn't) really trust a lot of the people involved." Where I failed with my group here in Chicago, I'm hoping to succeed with the Olympia Food Co-op. I'm hoping that I will convince you to change your boycott policy, and in doing so change some of the "cult-like" characteristics of this movement.

A Question of Nonviolence

BDS is often referred to as an inherently nonviolent action. The argument is made that because the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as been so marred in violence, that people should support any BDS campaign because it is a chance to move the conflict away from violence. While I agree that BDS campaigns are not violent in the sense of using physical force, I disagree with the notion that all actions that go under the banner of BDS—or that any action ever for that matter—are by nature inherently nonviolent. Nonviolence, as a tradition, seems to have very little to do with specifics actions and is more about carvings out a set of principles to guide actions. A good example for demonstrating this point is looking at the different ways activists can organize a letter writing campaign. There is nothing physically violent about writing letters to a public official. But, it is hard to make a case that those who lead such a campaign are trying to convert their enemy with love and self-sacrifice—the main idea behind nonviolence—if they start their letters with the lines: "Dear Scumbag, Get off your greedy ass and do what we want or else."

I would argue that boycott campaigns fall on a spectrum. On one end are targeted ones, which try to target only those most responsible for specific crimes; at the other end are blanket ones which boycott everything from a specific country and seek a general disinvestment of all companies from that country. If a boycott campaign is too targeted, affecting only a select group of companies, it can give the impression that a systematic evil is actually the result of only a few bad apples. On the other hand, if a boycott campaign is too blanketed it can alienate those who otherwise would have been allies and unfairly target those who have only a distant connection to whatever injustices activists are protesting. Each situation has to be analyzed as to which method would be the best one for that situation. The important thing to remember though is that any boycott, if it is to follow within the tradition to nonviolence, must aim to convert people to a cause through forms of self-sacrifice and noncooperation—thus the importance of structuring the campaigns to each particular cause—and not a means to punish people for the actions of their government. The difference between the two can be subtle, but the distinction is evident.

Destruction, whether intended or not, can occur from BDS campaigns. It has been used for malicious reasons by those who have hidden agendas. This should be obvious considering it is often the preferred method of waging quiet warfare by powerful nations. For example, consider the on-going BDS campaign that the United States has waged against Cuba for nearly the last sixty. This campaign is without a doubt intended to punish the Cuban people for supporting a government which the United States doesn't like, and its consequences are obviously destructive. There are of course legitimate grievous against the Cuban government. No person who is genuinely concerned with human rights can say that Cuba is a place where the right to freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or free association is protected. But, if the United States was truly concerned about these crimes, then it would target its BDS campaign solely against the Cuban government or the most repressive elements of the Cuban government, and not all of Cuban society. One can also look at the horrendous BDS campaign waged against Gaza by Israel, the United States, Egypt, and Europe. Israeli officials have been quite frank about the fact that their BDS campaign isn't about security, but a means of waging economic warfare of the people of Gaza for choosing a government not of their liking. If Hamas is really the only issue, why prohibit flour and cement? What can be done to Cuba and Gaza can also be done to Israel—a person must look at the specifics of the case to determine if this is so.

> *The tumbling of the apartheid regime really began when activists started to attack the nexus of power between South Africa and the United States, focusing on key industries and institutions.*

I know that some may find issue with my comparison between the current BDS campaigns against Israel, and the examples I have given. All the examples I mentioned were of large powerful nations using BDS against smaller ones. The BDS campaigns against Israel is made up of civil society organizations: schools, churches, grocery stores, and what not. The amount of damage these organizations could inflict would only have a minimal effect on Israel (no chance of the OFC causing the Israeli economy to collapse because of a boycott of its wheat-free cracker market). Supporters claim that these actions are mostly designed to be symbolic; the point is to give Israelis a sense of what it is like to be Palestinian and to isolate the country internationally. I have three replies to this objection. First, as activists how much time and energy do we really want to spend on activities that are mostly symbolic? I would prefer a hundred people working a campaign to boycott Boeing for selling weapons to Israel, over fifty people working on a campaign to boycott Boeing, twenty-five people working on a campaign to boycott Israeli dancers, and another twenty-five people working on a campaign to boycott Israeli juice. Second, if these actions are symbolic then we must question the symbolism that we are projecting. Do we really want to send the message that all Israelis are equally responsible for the crimes of their government—that there is no distinction between a people and their rulers? And do we really want to send the message that solely Israelis are responsible for these crimes—completely ignoring the very important role the United States government has in determining Israeli policy? And finally, it is important to ask how much is it in tune with the idea of nonviolence to wish that Israelis feel the same anguish that Palestinians feel? That somehow the fact that Palestinians feel scared and isolated justifies making Israelis feel similarly. As I understand it, the goal of nonviolence is to make the oppressors or passive bystanders empathize with the oppressed so that they change their behaviors based on a change of heart—not out of fear of being penalized or a tit-for-tat relationship.

Comparisons are often made between the current BDS movements against Israel and campaigns waged by nonviolent heroes like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Cesar Chavez, and Mohandas Gandhi. I found the following text posted on the OFC's webpage concerning boycotts: "The boycott is a non-violent tool for social change with a long history, from the Indian "Swadeshi" boycott of British goods, to the Montgomery bus boycott in the 1950s, to the California grape boycott in the 1960s, and the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions campaign on apartheid South Africa."

I believe that analogizes between the OFC's current boycott policy towards Israel and these campaigns are inaccurate. Gandhi, King, and Chavez's campaigns were boycotts structured so that the ends and the means were intertwined, where it was difficult to confuse the issues—something that I think is seriously lacking from much of the current BDS campaigns against Israel. That can be seen by just going over the basic history of their campaigns. Gandhi never asked for a blanket boycott of all British goods. Swadeshi was a boycott of British goods in India because British goods undercut Indian markets and contributed to the impoverishment of the country. His issue was the economic toll that British goods were having on India, not the British as a whole. He had no problem with people outside of India buying British goods, and no problem with buying British goods when he was visiting people in England—a point he made clear to journalists when he traveled to the country. King and Chavez of course lead successful boycott campaigns, but these campaigns were focused on specific crimes. King did not propose to boycott all of Alabama, only the Montgomery Bus Company. Similarly, Chavez did not call for a boycott of the entire Californian economy, nor did he initially even call for a boycott of all grapes in California. He targeted his boycott against the Delano County grape companies Schenley Industries and the DiGoirgio Corporation. The boycott was only moved to all California grapes when competitors agreed to buy excess grapes from the boycotted company and sell them under a different label. It seems really doubtful that the either King or Chavez would have been successful if they had decided to boycott the entire states and not direct them towards their ends. If anything, it would have probably turned off possible supporters, confused people about the objectives, and created

divisiveness among activists—the very things that I see happening in current BDS campaigns against Israel.

I have set aside the South Africa for specific reasons. This example is so often compared to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that I believe it requires special attention. The South African BDS campaign has a very complex history. It is fair to say that the BDS campaign played a crucial role in helping to end apartheid, but I also think it is also fair to say that the activists in the anti-apartheid movements made several mistakes. And, in my opinion, had their fanatical moments. It is not wise to think that we can or should duplicate their methods for every situation. Many, but not all, of the boycott and disinvestment campaigns against South Africa were on the blanket end of the spectrum. The argument was made that as long as a business functioned in South Africa it would have to give some support—taxes for example—to the apartheid regime. Noncooperation meant dis-investing from the country, and not allowing any of your dollars—no matter how remote—to end up in the coffers of the apartheid regime.

The ultimate success of the South African example I would argue was based on two factors. One, a more blanket campaign was easy to institute because blacks out-numbered whites in the country to such a degree that the risk of alienating potential supporters was minimal or inconsequential. Blacks were the majority, and they were asking activists and other nations to boycott their country, knowing very well they would be the ones who suffered the most from such campaigns. This situation doesn't exist in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict—the demographics between Palestinians and Israelis is fairly evenly split. For better or worse, how Israelis react to BDS (and one could argue supporters in the United States) must be taken into consideration. And two, the tumbling of the apartheid regime really began when activists started to attack the nexus of power between South Africa and the United States, focusing on key industries and institutions. Concentrating on the nexus of power between United States and Israel is not the focus of the BDS campaigns as called for by the Palestine BDS National Committee—the one that the OFC is based on. Instead they have channeled their energies more on consumer, cultural, and academic boycotts.

The Palestinian BDS National Committee

Since my criticism aren't against any BDS campaign, but the particular BDS campaign called for by the Palestine BDS National Committee, it is necessary that I spend sometime analyzing this organization. Without a doubt, the Palestinian BDS National Committee has much to be proud of. It was established in 2007 by a broad coalition of Palestinian organizations. In just a few years time their influence has grown dramatically, and many activist organizations look to them as the principle resource on BDS. In addition, they have managed to keep together a diversity of Palestinian organizations under one single ongoing campaign. Despite these accomplishments though, I do think there is serious reasons to question some of the Palestinian BDS National Committee's methods and objectives, and to think twice about allowing them to have such a prominent role.

First, the Palestine BDS National Committee has adopted a very blanket boycott stance which has the side-effect of obscuring the cause. They offer no wider principles for boycotting Israel or ask groups to direct their boycotts against those most responsible. For them, any Israeli business, or Israeli good, or school, or sports team, or cultural event, or even sister-city relationship is a viable target. Currently, they are forming a list of businesses to single-out and prioritize, but they have made no clear indication as to why certain ones will be singled-out. Instead, they have given the impression that they will support any BDS campaign against anything from Israel regardless of how distant or near it is from the occupation or violations of international law.

Second, they make statements that, in my opinion, are misleading about their influence and representativeness. They often refer to themselves as representing or being Palestinian civil society. No doubt many of their views and objectives are widely popular in Palestine, and no doubt they have formed a sizable coalition. But the leadership in this organization was not elected by the Palestinian population. As far as I can tell, there is no way to hold any of them accountable for their actions, nor do they have open debate with all of Palestine on their objectives and methods. The don't have referendums, or regularly poll the population to determine the next course of actions. They function as a coalition organization, with a board that makes the decisions and membership organizations that decide to join. Without democratic provisions or ways to include all of Palestine, the claim that they represent or make-up Palestinian civil society is a bit dubious. I think it is fair to say that they are a broad coalition which represents the interest of their membership—in the same way the Rainbow Coalition or the Christian Coalition are broad coalitions that represent the interests of their membership, not all of American civil society. The claim that they represent Palestinian civil society though, gives their methods a sense of authority which makes it difficult for others to question them—a sense of authority which in my opinion they don't actually have.

Third, they believe in spreading a "culture of Boycott as a central form of civil resistance." Personally, I am a bit baffled by the idea of creating a "culture of Boycott" (with, as they write it, a capital "B"). The whole idea seems to elevate a tactic to the status of an ideology. Skimming over their website, a person will immediately find in their "Calls and Campaigns" sections not one, but three news articles about the fifth anniversary of the call to launch a BDS campaign against Israel, along with calls for a "BDS Day of Action." These may not seem that strange up close, but when you take a step back it appears as the cause of Palestinian liberation is sometimes taking a back seat to a specific tactic. How would we act if an organization called for an "Annual Petition Day" against the occupation—where everyone was expected to participate in signing petitions, or celebrated the anniversary of "Banner Drop Day" were people got together and mused about the importance that banner drops have had in furthering social justice causes? For me, BDS is a tactic not a panacea. There is no need to form a culture around it, because it is only used as needed.

Fourth, they tend to exaggerate and mislead people of their "wins" giving the impression that these BDS campaigns have wider appeal than they actually have. Many in the BDS movement have celebrated the fact that the rock groups the Pixies and Santana canceled concerts in Israel. But in both these cases, the artists never made clear the reasons why they canceled their shows. It is rumored and organizers of concerts have suggested that these cancellations have been tied to Israeli policies, but without a clear statements from the performers no one can know for sure. Did performers stay away out of protest, or did they stay away just to avoid controversy, or was it some other reason all together? These type of "boycotts" don't do anything to raise awareness around the cause Palestinian liberation for the obvious reason that those carrying them out haven't taken a stand on Palestinian liberation. Instead, they just allow the Israeli right a chance to whip-up hysteria and further obscure the issues. Nevertheless, these cancellations, and others like them, are all considered "wins" by BDS movement and a sign of its strength.

Finally, there is an issue of the Palestinian BDS National Committee's objectives. They list three main objectives to their BDS campaign. For Israel to start "1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall; 2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and 3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194." The vagueness of the first objective is highly problematic. It does not clear if it is intended to mean the end of the occupation of 1967, or the borders established in 1948, or the returning to the plan the United Nations General Assembly voted on in 1947, or the dismantling of the Israeli state altogether. The second objective too has problems. It is worded in such a way as to infer that full equality should exist between Arab-Palestinians and Jews, but discrimination against other non-Jews, non-Arab Palestinian people in Israel is still acceptable. Does this mean that National Committee would find it acceptable if in the future Jews and Palestinians were equal citizens, but both could discriminatory against say Christian Arabs from Egypt? I seriously doubt that is their intention, but they don't make that clear in their objectives. The third objective also has problems. Like the first one it is overly vague and leaves important information out. It is true that resolution 194 does require Israel to respect the right of all refugees, and allow them to return to their homes as soon as possible—but, for refugees that cannot return either because their property was destroyed or generations have passed and new people live on their former property, international law allows Israel to compensate the victims by paying just compensation for their forced migration. There is no mention of this in the wording of the objective. Also, underling Resolution 194 is the issue of if the right to return for Palestinians applies individually or collectively. Indeed, it has been suggested by some that Resolution 194 is intended to apply not just to refugees but the decedents of those refugees. The wording of the third objective does not say which way it falls on this debate—again leaving the issue ambiguous.

It quite likely that the reason the National Committee has been able to form such a broad coalition is due in part to the vagueness of its documents. People read them and fill in their biggest hopes and wishes in the parts that are missing. However inspiring it is for people to hear lofty words, it is quite dangerous to form a serious social movement around a few vague ideas. I think that long-time Israeli political activist Uri Avnery has an excellent criticism of the BDS movement which is that you are never quite sure what they are really after. The vagueness of the objectives that the National Committee has set out allows organizations and individuals to shift the meaning of various BDS campaigns to whatever is most political expedient, rather than what is most moral and realistic.

There is an inherent problem with this in terms of supporting the OFC's boycott: if people are in disagreement on what the objectives are, people will be in disagreement about when the boycott should end. One of the requirements of supporting any boycott by the OFC is that the OFC will gather information on "What will end the boycott." Personally, I think this is impossible with the current objectives of the Palestinian BDS National Committee. I would be surprised if the supporters of this boycott—that is the ones who took the proposal before the Board—could come to any clear consensus of what these three objectives actually mean, and if they can be sure how they interpret them is the same way others interprets them.

A Constructive Alternative

Up until this point my entire letter has been critical of the OFC's policy, and the direction of many BDS campaigns in general. However, I want to make clear that I wholeheartedly agree with Steve Niva in his article published on Counterpunch that: "Critics of the Olympia Food Co-op's recent decision to boycott several Israeli products until Israel ends its inhumane occupation of Palestinian land and its suppression of Palestinian human rights have no moral or ethical basis to criticize the Food Co-op unless they can offer an alternative strategy to end Israel's occupation. Until they do so, they are simply embracing and providing cover for the injustices of Israel's occupation, whether they are willing to admit it or not."

There are many proposed solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that I don't like, but I accept them because I realize that a realistic alternative is absent. I would hold the same principle true for BDS campaigns. If this was the only course of action I would favor it because I know it would be better than no course of action at all. But, in this case I do think there is an alternative. One thing that I strongly agree with the Palestinian BDS National Committee is that purpose of any BDS campaign should be to get Israel to follow international laws. If that is the case, then it follows that BDS campaigns should be structured around international laws, and target those businesses and institutions that are violating international laws rather than all of Israel.

Because of this, I think the OFC Board should rescind its current boycott policy, and consent to another boycott policy with the following wording:

The Olympia Food Co-op refuses to sell any goods, or do business with any company or institution—American, Israeli, or otherwise—which

1) directly profits from the illegal occupation of Palestinian land based on the 1967 borders, as indicated by United Nations Security Resolution 242;

2) is located in settlements—including East Jerusalem—deemed illegal by the Fourth Geneva Convention and the International Court of Justice's Advisory Opinion on Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory; and

3) actively discriminates against any non-Jews, but in particular Arabs, in violations of Israel's obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racism.

This policy is superior to the previous one for several reasons. For starters, there is a need to make a separation between specific evils and the Israeli population as a whole. The goal of the right-wing in Israel has been to make the occupation and racism within Israel indistinguishable from Israeli society. They argue that if a person loves Israel—its people and culture—then they must also love and support the occupation and the discrimination against non-Jews. The Israeli public has moved to the

▸ **CRITIQUE,** continued on page 25

Centralia Square Antique Mall

3 floors to explore • Restaurant • Bookstore

Directions from Olympia
South on Interstate 5
Off at Exit 62 (Factory Outlets)
East on Harrison
Right on Pearl
201 S Pearl & Locust

Open 7 days
10 to 5

▸ **OWNERSHIP,** continued from page 5

does not make one progressive on Palestine/Israel. This phenomenon is so common that it has a special label: PEP, or "Progressive Except for Palestine."

Additionally, some people claim to be progressive on Palestine and boast the following credentials:

1. They express opposition to the occupation
2. They say they don't support the actions of the Israeli government
3. They admit that what Israel is doing to the Palestinians is wrong.
4. They support a Palestinian state
5. They support J Street

The distinction is made that because these Jews are not right-wing, they should be given special credence. Again, it is inappropriate to claim that Jews, progressive or not, have greater authority over the Palestine/Israel conflict than progressive non-Jews.

Moreover, many people who flaunt their "progressive" credentials will still resort to the same accusations against Palestinian activism when pressed.

In the end, labels convey very little. It is irrelevant whether people consider themselves progressive, liberal, radical, leftist, or anarchist. What is relevant is what people are willing to do to work for peace and justice. If the extent of one's activism on Palestine/Israel is disrupting other people's activism work—whether it's by disrupting a boycott or disrupting a possible sister city relationship with Rafah—or if their only activism is engaging in local dialogue, then those actions speak louder than one's political affiliations or one's personal beliefs.

Mere political affiliation should not accord anyone special authority on Palestine activism.

Who owns the Olympia community?

Unfortunately, provincialism coupled with an exclusive awareness of Jewish hurt feelings has made it appear to some people that the Olympia Food Co-op's decision to honor the Israel boycott has only produced negative results—anti-Semitism and division—with no benefits whatsoever. Hence the boycott appears to be a misguided, strictly principled, symbolic gesture of little value and no ramifications on Middle East peace.

Locally, emotional opposition to the boycott has drowned out voices of marginalized peoples who have felt empowered by the boycott.

The facts belie these assumptions. The boycott tactic has Israel taking notice enough that the Israeli Consulate has attempted to unify local opposition to the boycott. Several Israeli news articles have appeared about the Co-op. Most recently, the Co-op was featured in an hour-long news report on the growing BDS movement on Israel's Channel 10. The reality is that Israel takes BDS more seriously than it takes J Street seriously.

The boycott has also helped to empower Palestinian civil society, which was the originator of the 2005 BDS call. A letter of endorsement was received that was signed by all major Palestinian agricultural and farmer unions, as well as by the Palestinian Popular Resistance Committees that organize Palestinian nonviolent resistance today. Nonviolent activists in Palestine have been routinely beaten and at times killed. Leaders of the nonviolent resistance have been imprisoned. For these Palestinians, whose struggle is literally a matter of life and death, the boycott is a signal that the world is paying attention to their plight and is responding to their pleas. It is also an affirmation that their chosen tactics of nonviolence are garnering international support and solidarity.

Locally, emotional opposition to the boycott has drowned out voices of marginalized peoples who have felt empowered by the boycott. Expressions of anger, fear, and sadness can outweigh the softer expressions of pride and hope coming from marginalized people.

We have all heard how the boycott is hurtful, divisive, offensive, misguided, pointless, and anti-Semitic. But there are other expressions over the boycott that must be heeded. The following expression comes from a Palestinian-American Co-op member:

"Today was the first time in years that I have cried happy tears. As I read of news of your organization's boycott on Israeli goods, I could feel decades of pain and anger flow out of me, replaced by gratitude. I spent my childhood as an Arab Christian in a Gazan refugee camp known as Bureij. My grandmother once lived in the city of Jaffa, before she and her entire neighborhood were chased away by militants in 1948. The place where her home once stood is now a parking lot, and the city has been renamed Tel Aviv.…

"The most painful part of my history is not my grandmother's demolished house or my younger sister dying due to lack of available medicine or my memories of the hell that Bureij was. Something far more hurtful than all of that is that in my new homeland of America, no one cares. For decades the response has been the same: you deserved it. You should have shut up and taken it. This is all your fault anyway. Arabs are violent, by their very nature. The attitude was so common that during college I used to tell people that I was from Bahrain in order to avoid the stares and shouts.

"I tell you all of this because today was the first day in recent memory that I have felt that not all Americans hate my family and people like them. After all the 'We Stand by Israel' parades, after the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, after the deaths of so many for such pointless reasons, I am beginning to feel hope. Hope for the future of Palestine without violence, hope for an end to the wars and the justifications and the massacres, hope for an America where people do not turn a cold shoulder to the killing of innocents because they speak Arabic.…"

There are many expressions like this in the community. But expressions of pride and hope from the marginalized are not necessarily the loudest.

The Co-op's boycott is more than a symbol. It is a hurdle that has been overcome. And now the greater Olympia community must overcome its own hurdles.

How do we foster community? Is it by ignoring controversial issues? Is it by avoiding difficult questions? Is it by longing for a less divisive time, when oppression lay beneath the surface, rather

▸ **COMMUNITY,** continued from page 19

distinct chance of success. In terms of intellectual discourse, these sorts of responses are the equivalent of asking "If you love the Earth so much, why don't you go jump off a cliff?"

The problem is precisely that, whether you're for the boycott or against it, what is needed at this juncture is dialogue, and this sort of rhetoric stands directly in the way of honest dialogue.

Attacks on the character of BDS organizers have taken many forms. In a letter to the editor, printed in the Olympian on Aug. 2, one boycott opponent wrote:

> *This effort was organized by the international Boycott, Divest and Sanctions movement which currently has paid organizers in town working to achieve their ends by the means of exploiting our community and creating division between community members.*

This wasn't just some token nobody. This was Rabbi Yohanna Kinberg, assistant Rabbi at Temple B'Nai Torah up in Bellevue, respected community leader, and incidentally, wife of Rabbi Seth Goldstein of Temple Beth Hatfiloh here in Olympia. It should be noted that local BDS organizers are, in fact, not being paid, and that there is no international BDS organization to do the paying anyway.

While the claim that BDS organizers are getting paid for their work was a direct claim and a direct untruth, and was criticized by the progressive community at large, there was a more insidious portrayal in this letter. Some boycott opponents have taken to portraying boycott organizers as strangers, who come into our community from places far away to do what they do. Dissected, the suggestion is, they aren't as invested in this community as the opposition is, and thus don't care about the consequences of their actions to the community the way the opposition does. This implies that boycott organizers operate by dishonestly manipulating our otherwise well-intentioned open processes. Thus, the situation is portrayed as a fight between boycott organizers, whose only concern is the furtherance of a political agenda, and boycott opponents, whose only motivation is the health of their community (and not, simply, a contrary political agenda of their own). And through that dichotomy, the boycott is portrayed as inherently damaging to the community, and perhaps in contrary to our values.

In fact, Olympia BDS consists of Olympia residents, most of whom have lived here for several years, even going back to well before the death of Rachel Corrie made Palestine a local issue. Many of them are intrinsically involved in several community institutions, including the Food Co-op itself. (Thus, they are entitled to exert influence upon these institutions, as long as it is done in good faith and in furtherance of what can reasonably be defined as positive values.) Even in terms of their activism, they are hardly one-issue activists. It should also be noted that, whether you believe there is more support for the boycott in the community at large or opposition to it, it cannot be argued that it does enjoy a broad range of support. Since the community is, essentially, people, it thus cannot be defined as damaging to the community, or contrary to the community's values. (Whether it is in alignment with the community's values is a different discussion.)

Once again, whether this is a fair argumentative style is beside the point. What one side or the other needs to further their political agenda is simply to rely on cynical rhetoric and unfair portrayals of the "other side." What our *community* needs right now is a fair and honest dialogue on Palestine and Israel.

That letter to the editor was later retracted by Rabbi Kinberg. But still, the question must be directly asked: If community leaders are pivotal figures in turning the discussion away from the facts of the Israel-Palestine conflict, and away from discussion of tactics and strategies for positive change, and into fights over disinformation and mischaracterizations, then what hope does a real dialogue have?

If community leaders are turning the discussion away from the facts and into fights over disinformation and mischaracterizations, then what hope does a real dialogue have?

Other times, BDS opponents have resorted to exaggerated comparisons, even going so far as to compare this little boycott in Olympia to the Shoah itself. In particular, a letter to the *News Tribune* of Tacoma by Edward Alexander, a professor emeritus at the University of Washington, which read in part:

> *Instructing Israel on the most suitable method (one-state solution, no-state solution, final solution) of ceasing to exist is nowadays a ticket of admission to "progressive" circles. The instructors' motto resurrects the Reign of Terror slogan: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity – or Death."*
>
> *Still greater triumphs in the contest for public opinion may await these "critics." Their threats are not idle. On their own, they cannot visit upon Israel the terrible fate they think it deserves as the devil's experiment station, but they know they have a powerful ally named Ahmadinejad, bent on translating politicide into genocide.*

Mainstream newspapers have, unfortunately, not been very discerning about exactly what reactions to BDS they will print, and thus regressive towards a community dialogue in their own way. For example, a racist cartoon was recently printed in the Port Townsend Leader (where they're also considering adopting an Israel boycott at their Co-op), depicting a woman in a Muslim shawl checking that a store didn't sell Jewish food (bagels and lox), thus making sure it was "safe" to shop there. Once again, the opposition portrayal is that the boycott is against Jewish *people*, thus skirting any real discussion on the actual issues involved. (The irony is that, as it's been noted by one Jewish BDS organizer, the Olympia Food Co-op is still the best place in town for kosher food for observant Jews.)

Finally, anti-Arab racism is, sadly, a common theme. Opposition to the boycott is sometimes expressed merely as a diatribe of Islamophobic prejudices, or cultural assumptions and misperceptions. The implication these statements carry, which is rarely spoken to directly, is that Palestinians are somehow inherently inferior to the rest of us, subhuman, without basic human decency, and therefore not worthy of our consideration, or of sovereignty as a people. Oftentimes, such diatribes are espoused without any other qualification, or any other attempt to address BDS or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict outside of a portrayal of an ethnically-based "good versus evil." Since BDS organizers and supporters know these racial stereotypes to be not only untrue but hurtful and morally offensive, these are perhaps the greatest rhetorical obstacles to an open and honest dialogue.

This list is by no means complete as a chronicle of cynical rhetoric on the part of boycott opposition, because once again, it is not intended to be. As stated, I would be very interested in a list of cynical and anti-dialogue rhetorical devices on the part of boycott supporters, compiled by someone in opposition to the boycott. Such a list would go even further to helping us identify the dialogue-obstructing trends and behaviors that keep us from having the dialogue we need.

But while such a list would have its own merit, a comparison between the two would not advance the dialogue even if we had one now. This situation isn't going to be advanced by trying to portray one side as inherently nobler than the other, or the other side as less scrupulous than the other. This situation can only be advanced through an honest and reasoned analysis of the facts regarding the Israel-Palestine conflict, and insofar as a subset of people agree on supporting Palestine, about an honest assessment of the strategical efficacy of BDS.

TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT MONTH'S *WORKS IN PROGRESS*

Wally Cuddeford is a lifelong resident of Olympia, Washington, a social justice activist, and a U.S. Navy veteran. He is not affiliated with Olympia BDS.

than aboveground where it must be confronted? Or is it by taking responsibility for our actions, pursuing our values, empowering the marginalized, and lending voice to the voiceless?

This is an appeal to broaden our community, for all of us to take ownership of the Palestine/Israel issue. Whether we accept it, we are already complicit. It's already ours.

We must transcend the patronizing notion that when it comes to Palestine/Israel, Jews have "sensitivities," while everyone else has "biases." I may not be Jewish, but the tears I have cried for Palestine are no less real. The people of Palestine are real people and cannot be dismissed as "Hamas" or "pawns of Hamas" or "terrorists." Their pain may not be the pain of centuries of persecution or the pain of Auschwitz or Treblinka. In that—and against the depths of one's transgenerational trauma—I'm sure they cannot compete. But must they?

I look forward to a time when Palestinian life is not predicated on questions about "Israel's right to exist" or "where's the Palestinian Gandhi" or a 1987 Hamas charter that hardly any Palestinian has read—that is, when Palestinian life is not predicated on another people's insecurities.

I look forward to a time when I can support Palestinians without having my motivations questioned, my ethnicity disqualified, and my name and associations sullied.

I look forward to a time when Arabs and Muslims in Olympia, as well as Palestinians in the Middle East, are not viewed as abstractions but are recognized as real and as alive and as deserving of dignity as Olympia's dynamic Jewish community.

And I look forward to a time when we can all look back and say with pride that the Olympia Food Co-op was one of the first, and we helped make it happen.

Phan Nguyen is a long-time resident of Olympia and an organizer for Olympia BDS.

Should videotaping the police really be a crime?

By Adam Cohen

Anthony Graber, a Maryland Air National Guard staff sergeant, faces up to 16 years in prison. His crime? He videotaped his March encounter with a state trooper who pulled him over for speeding on a motorcycle. Then Graber put the video — which could put the officer in a bad light — up on YouTube.

Graber is not the only person being slapped down by the long arm of the law for the simple act of videotaping the police in a public place. Prosecutors across the U.S. claim the videotaping violates wiretap laws—a stretch, to put it mildly.

These days, it's not hard to see why police are wary of being filmed. In 1991, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) beating of Rodney King was captured on video by a private citizen. It was shown repeatedly on television and caused a national uproar. As a result, four LAPD officers were put on trial, and when they were not convicted, riots broke out, leaving more than 50 people dead and thousands injured (two officers were later convicted on federal civil rights charges).

More recently, a New York Police Department officer was thrown off the force — and convicted of filing a false report — because of a video of his actions at a bicycle rally in Times Square. The officer can plainly be seen going up to a man on a bike and shoving him to the ground. The officer claimed the cyclist was trying to collide with him, and in the past, it might have been hard to disprove the police account. But this time there was an amateur video of the encounter — which quickly became an Internet sensation, viewed more than 3 million times on YouTube alone.

In the Graber case, the trooper also apparently had reason to want to keep his actions off the Internet. He cut Graber off in an unmarked vehicle, approached Graber in plain clothes and yelled while brandishing a gun before identifying himself as a trooper.

Back when King was beaten, it was unusual for bystanders to have video cameras. Today, everyone is a moviemaker. Lots of people carry video cameras in their pockets, on iPhones, BlackBerrys and even their MP3 players. They also have an easy distribution system: the Internet. A video can get millions of viewers worldwide if it goes viral, bouncing from blog to blog, e-mail to e-mail, and Facebook friend to Facebook friend.

No wonder, then, that civil rights groups have embraced amateur videos. Last year, the NAACP announced an initiative in which it encouraged ordinary citizens to tape police misconduct with their cell phones and send the videos to the group's website, www.naacp.org.

Law enforcement is fighting back. In the case of Graber — a young husband and father who had never been arrested — the police searched his residence and seized computers. Graber spent 26 hours in jail even before facing the wiretapping charges that could conceivably put him away for 16 years. (It is hard to believe he will actually get anything like that, however. One point on his side: the Maryland attorney general's office recently gave its opinion that a court would likely find that the wiretap law does not apply to traffic stops.)

Last year, Sharron Tasha Ford was arrested in Florida for videotaping an encounter between the police and her son on a public sidewalk. She was never prosecuted, but in June, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Florida sued the city of Boynton Beach on her behalf, claiming false arrest and violation of her First Amendment rights.

The legal argument prosecutors rely on in police video cases is thin. They say the audio aspect of the videos violates wiretap laws because, in some states, both parties to a conversation must consent to having a private conversation recorded. The hole in their argument is the word "private." A police officer arresting or questioning someone on a highway or street is not having a private conversation. He is engaging in a public act.

Even if these cases do not hold up in court, the police can do a lot of damage just by threatening to arrest and prosecute people. "We see a fair amount of intimidation — police saying, 'You can't do that. It's illegal,'" says Christopher Calabrese, a lawyer with the ACLU's Washington office. It discourages people from filming, he says, even when they have the right to film.

Ford was not deterred. According to her account, even when the police threatened her with arrest, she refused to turn off her video camera, telling her son not to worry because "it's all on video" and "let them be who they continue to be."

The police then grabbed her, she said, took her camera and drove her off to the police station for booking.

Most people are not so game for a fight with the police. They just stop filming. These are the cases no one finds out about, in which there is no arrest or prosecution, but the public's freedoms have nevertheless been eroded.

Ford was right to insist on her right to videotape police actions that occur in public, and others should too. If the police are doing their jobs properly, they should have nothing to worry about.

Cohen, a lawyer, is a former TIME writer and a former member of the New York Times editorial board.

▸ **NEWS,** continued from page 12

endangered his job prospects on airlines everywhere when he got into an argument with a passenger, grabbed a beer from the galley, popped an emergency exit chute on the runway at JFK and staged a one-guy walkout. Maybe next job in the theater industry?

• In NYC, in the heat, hypocrisy, and soundbite hysteria of the Ground Zero Mosque, Michael Enright first confirmed that his cab driver was a Muslim observing Ramadan before yelling "This is a checkpoint." and attacking cabbie Ahmed Sharif with a knife and attempting to murder him. Sharif is recovering. Enright is under arrest for attempted murder and hate crimes. The war on terror comes home. www.theactivist.org or www.talkingpointsmemo.com for details

• Opposition to the construction of the Cordoba House, aka the Ground Zero Mosque, claims the neighborhood around the site of the Twin Towers as hallowed ground in its objection to the idea of Muslims prayer in the neighborhood. The neighborhood currently hosts an off track betting parlor, a strip joint and a porno house. Pretty comprehensive deconstruction of the fearmongering behind opposition to Cordoba House is available at www.theamericanmuslim.org.

On a serious note, the Rachel Corrie wrongful death civil trial resumes in Haifa, Israel on September 5. The trial that commenced in March now enters the phase with the State presenting its case. This herculean effort to seek justice and accountability for the killing of a beloved daughter, friend, and inspiration to so many of us, is on my mind. May we all choose an end to these senseless deaths. Lay down the weapons of war.

http://rachelcorriefoundation.org

Shalom aleichem.

▸ **CRITIQUE,** continued from page 23

right because the right validates their sense of person-hood and community, the desire of Israelis to see themselves as Israelis. But, the right-wing offers this sentiment as a Faustian bargain—we will support you in your identity as an Israeli if you support us in occupying and discriminating against Palestinians. The only way to break the dramatic turn to the right in Israel is to drive a wedge between the Israeli public and the occupation and racism within Israel. The Israeli public as a whole will turn against the occupation when they see it as something outside of their identity as Israelis—not intrinsic to it.

Also, structuring any BDS movement around international laws has within it a trump card against those who are opposed to any boycott against Israel. Nothing is evidently more shortsighted and shallow then for Jews to be opposed the very laws which were instituted in response to the wars and holocaust which nearly wiped them out. If you are against a boycott structured around violations of international laws then you are inadvertently taking a stand against international laws themselves; if those laws were the ones that were specifically designed in response to the horrors of World War II and the holocaust then you are suggesting that is some way the actions taken by the Axis powers during the war were justice. Nobody in this day and age—outside of neo-Nazi circles—believes that to be true. It is just a matter using the appropriate activist tools to quicken the conscience of people so that such moral standards will be applied universally—to Palestinians and Jews alike—rather than selectively.

International law argument also provides cover for the OFC decision to boycott on the grounds that it is not only morally obligated to follow to international laws but also legally required. Principle VII of the Nuremberg Tribunal states that complicity in the commission of an international crime—as in providing funding or support for criminals—is also a crime. Of course, the chances that anyone would bring an actually case against the Olympia Food Co-op or that courts would determine the Olympia Food Co-op truly complicit, are pretty much zero; this does not mean though that the actions of the OFC in this regard would be completely wasted. An OFC boycott of businesses based in international laws would both raise the public consciousness around the importance of international laws, and provide an important stepping stone for activists to reach towards with other businesses, and eventually the American government, where the case for complicity is very real.

It is also a policy that I believe has the potential for wide appeal. I totally agree with Hussein Ibish of the American Task Force for Palestine that BDS only "has a shot" at gaining wide support if it is aimed at the settlements and occupation. He stated the situation quite clearly when he said that "There isn't a big constituency in the United States for being hostile to Israel, but... there is potentially a huge constituency for pressuring Israel to end the occupation." Other organizations have come to this conclusions too. The United Methodist Church has agreed to divest in the occupation and boycott products in the settlements, but they have made clear that this does not entail a boycott of all of Israel. Similarly, Amnesty International has called for an arms embargo on the country (which in a way is actually a boycott of United States' military companies) but not a boycott of the whole country.

Finally, the last benefit of structuring a BDS campaign on international laws is that the goals are clear. If Israel agrees to end the occupation of 1967—and all that entails—along with ending its discrimination against non-Jews in compliance with international covenants it has signed then there is no need to continue a BDS campaign against it. Vague and disputable notions—like what exactly is Arab land and Jewish land—are not part of the debate, nor do they need to be. Instead, concrete, doable, and principled goals are established to prevent any manipulation of the movement or any uncertainty of the outcome.

Closing Remarks

This letter has been specifically directed to the OFC Board, but indirectly it is intended for others. Much of my comments, including the ones made here, are for a wider audience. I think, with this issue especially, it is important to resist knee-jerk reactions, and the temptations to fall into political cults. In regards to BDS the a point has been made that we have to make a difference between feel good and do good tactics. Feel good actions tend to be more extreme—throwing a brick through a window, wanting to boycott all of Israel—because they express the full weight of our emotions. Do good actions tend to be more moderate, but they produce more tangible results. If we allow ourselves to be consumed with feel good actions then we need to seriously question who are activism is really for? Fredrick Douglass once said "If there is no struggle, there is no progress," followed by the lines "We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice, and if need by our own lives and the lives of others." I would argue that this sense of sacrifice which he talked about is true not only in a material sense, but also in an emotional sense. There at times when we need to put aside our own deepest resentments and sense of anger for the sake others who are less fortunate than ourselves.

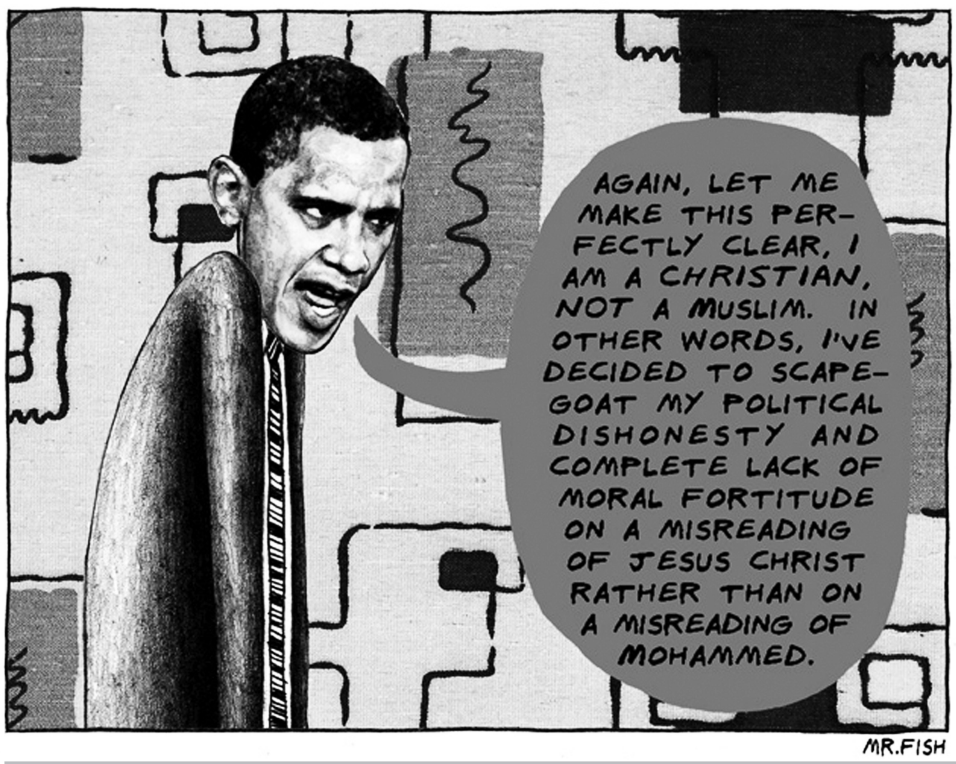
Marco Rosaire Rossi is a dedicated social justice activist and frequent contributor to Works In Progress. *He was once a beloved member of the Olympia progressive community, but then he moved to Chicago, which might as well be "Bahstin".*

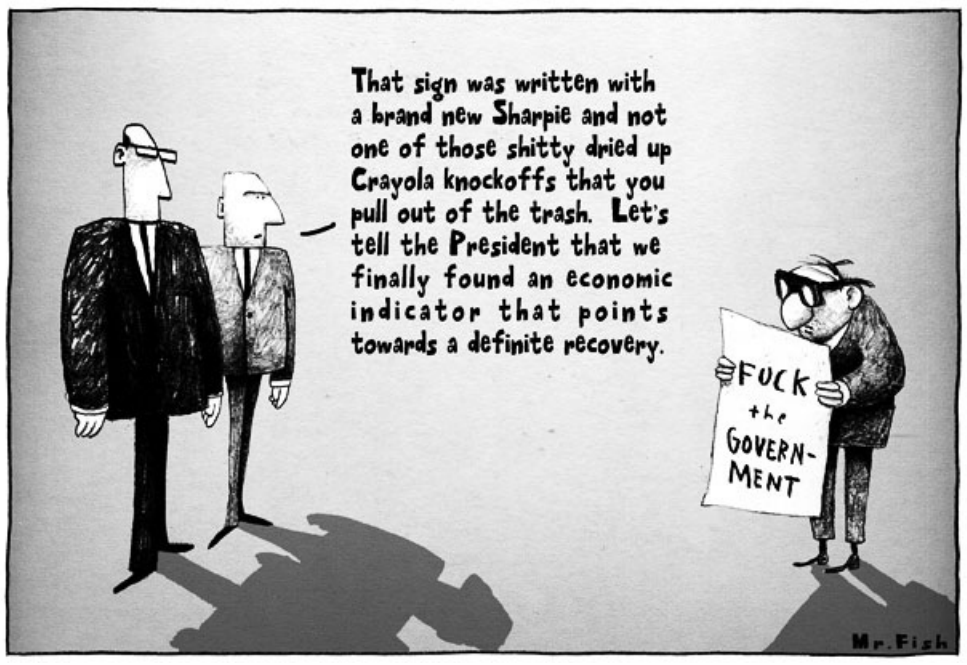
Oh, Mr. Fish!

Frequently controversial and often willing to wander into uncomfortable topics, Dwayne Booth, a 20-year veteran cartoonist, tramples through social and political hypocrisies. While not all his cartoons are meant to be funny, for the ones that are, Mr. Fish will have you laughing even when you shouldn't.

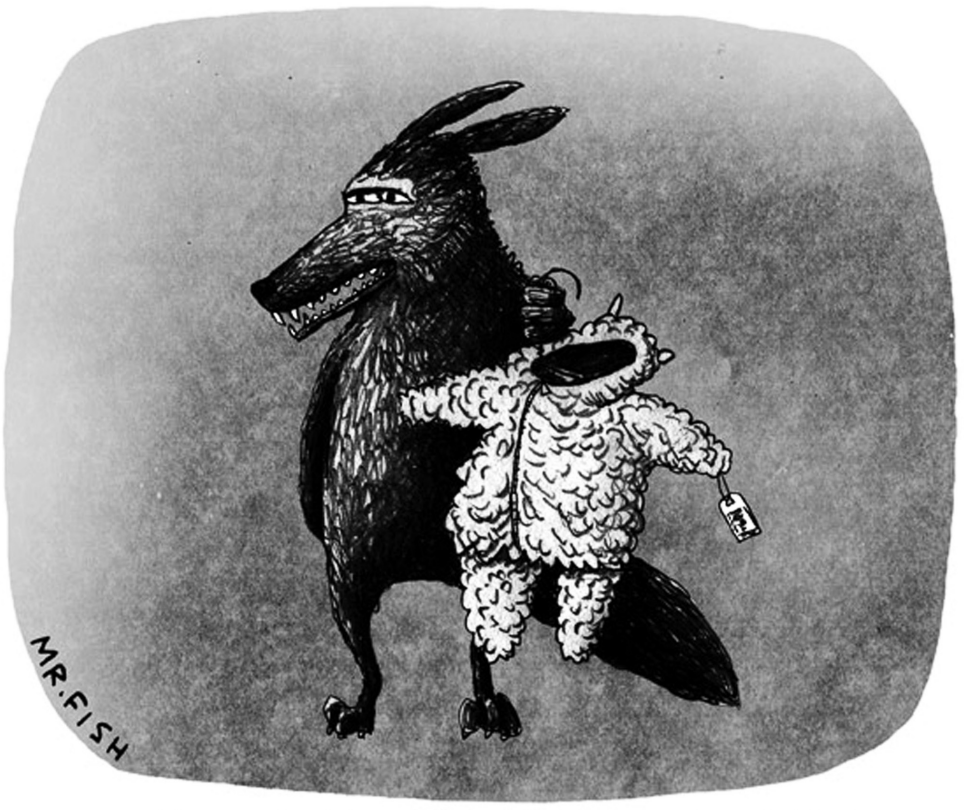
He is a regular contributor to Truthdig and Harper's and his cartoons "have appeared in The Los Angeles Times, The Village Voice, Vanity Fair, Mother Jones Magazine, the Advocate, Z Magazine, the Utne Reader, Slate.com, MSNBC.com and others [*Works In Progress*]."

A recent transplant from the west coast, "he lives in Philadelphia with his wife and twin daughters."


AGAIN, LET ME MAKE THIS PERFECTLY CLEAR, I AM A CHRISTIAN, NOT A MUSLIM. IN OTHER WORDS, I'VE DECIDED TO SCAPEGOAT MY POLITICAL DISHONESTY AND COMPLETE LACK OF MORAL FORTITUDE ON A MISREADING OF JESUS CHRIST RATHER THAN ON A MISREADING OF MOHAMMED.
MR.FISH

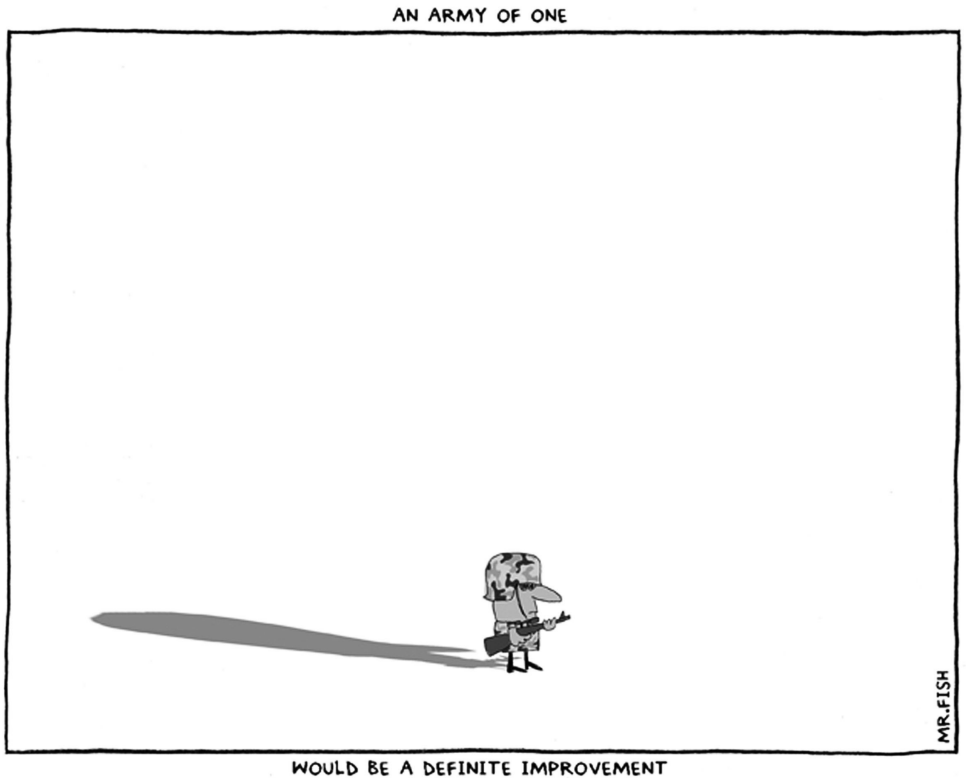

That sign was written with a brand new Sharpie and not one of those shitty dried up Crayola knockoffs that you pull out of the trash. Let's tell the President that we finally found an economic indicator that points towards a definite recovery.
FUCK the GOVERNMENT
Mr.Fish

FEARFUL THAT THE PUBLIC MIGHT FINALLY NOT BE ABLE TO PREVENT ITSELF FROM SWARMING INTO WASHINGTON D.C. WITH INDUSTRIAL-SIZED VATS OF TAR AND GREAT FLUFFY BALES OF FEATHERS IN REACTION TO THE PASSAGE OF A 59 BILLION DOLLAR WAR-FUNDING BILL BY CONGRESS TWO DAYS AFTER THE AFGHAN WAR DIARY WAS RELEASED BY WIKILEAKS, BARACK OBAMA EMBARKS ON A BABY-KISSING CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST TO PROVE THAT HE CAN STILL BE AS LOVABLE AS HE WAS BACK IN 2008 BEFORE EVERYBODY KNEW THAT HE COULD BE AS REPREHENSIBLE AND CRUEL AND NAUSEATINGLY INHUMANE AS HIS PREDECESSOR.



"It's what all we Liberal Democrats will be wearing this fall."

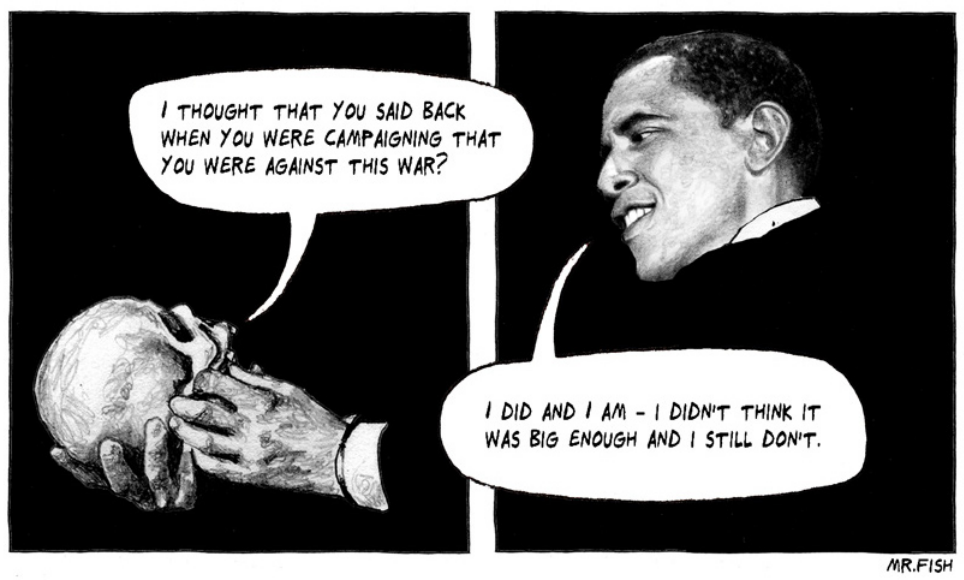
AN ARMY OF ONE



WOULD BE A DEFINITE IMPROVEMENT

SCOOTER IN 1959 LOOKING AT A FUTURISTIC COMIC BOOK ABOUT HOW AWESOME LIFE WILL BE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

GOLLY, GEEZ! NO UNEMPLOYMENT AND NO WAR AND NO POLLUTION AND NO PREJUDICE AND NO CRIME AND NO POVERTY AND NO DISEASE!
JIMMINIES! THAT MEANS WE PROBLY GOT RID OF THE COMMIES AND WERE SUDDENLY FREE TO SPREAD CAPITALISM ALL AROUND THE WORLD!
MR.FISH


I THOUGHT THAT YOU SAID BACK WHEN YOU WERE CAMPAIGNING THAT YOU WERE AGAINST THIS WAR?
I DID AND I AM - I DIDN'T THINK IT WAS BIG ENOUGH AND I STILL DON'T.
MR.FISH

WIP Announcements

Send in announcements to submissions@olywip.org or Works In Progress PO Box 295 Olympia WA 98507

Ali Abunimah on...

"Boycott: A Nonviolent Technology for Peace and Justice in Palestine/Israel"

August 31, Tuesay 7-9 pm
The Olympia Center
222 Columbia NW

Ali Abunimah, co-founder of the Electronic Intifada, is one of the most prominent Palestinian-American commentators on the Israel/Palestine conflict. He is coming to Olympia to explain why boycott is an important component for peace and justice for Palestine and Israel.

Ali Abunimah has published articles in the New York Times, the Chicago Tribune, and the Los Angeles Times, and has appeared as a commentator on CNN, MSNBC, Al-Jazeera and other television news programs.

Abunimah was born to a refugee mother from the eradicated Palestinian village of Lifta and a father from Battir in the currently occupied West Bank.

Olympia Fellowship Of Reconciliation September TCTV program

"More Information on the 9-11 Attacks"

Mondays from 1:30 to 2:30 pm and every Thursday 9-10 pm on TCTV cable channel 22 in Thurston County. Info: Glen 491-9093 glen@olympiafor.org www.olympiafor.org

Joint Mason County/Thurston County protest demanding ORCAA (Olympic Region Clean Air Agency) reject Adage application for a 65MW biomass incinerator in Mason County

September 1, Wednesday -- 4-6 pm.
ORCAA Olympia offices
2940-B Limited Lane, Olympia.
360-539-7610.

Biomass activists from Mason County will travel to Olympia for this protest and be joined by activists from Evergreen State College, Olympia, and beyond. Adage incinerator would: (1) emit hundreds of tons of particulate matter pollution so toxic a single exposure can kill; (2) emit at least 34 other Hazardous Air Pollutants including arsenic, dioxins, mercury and lead, and endangering our region; (3) emit 634,000 tons of carbon dioxide per year--CO2 is the leading greenhouse gas causing climate change; (4) burn more than one ton of forest wood per minute, leading to clear-cutting our regional forests to feed it.

Let's show up in big numbers on Sept. 1 to help our Mason County friends beat this lethal threat.

Oliver Stone's powerful, informative new "South of the Border" film

September 3– September 9
Olympia Film Society, Capitol Theater,
206 5th Ave SE, Olympia 360-754-6670
www.olympiafilmsociety.org

English and Spanish with English subtitles There is a modern-day revolution unfolding in South America at this very moment, but it's hiding in plain sight. In the eye-opening documentary South of the Border, the Oscar winning director Oliver Stone attempts to reveal the social progress being made in the other American continent as he takes an informative road trip through this lush, foreign land, interviewing prominent foreign leaders, including the controversial Hugo Chavez, all while studying the plight of the residents and the political climate that differs so much from our own. Ray Bennet of The Hollywood Reporter calls South of the Border "Good humored and illuminating." Film about new democracies in Latin America screens at at various times in afternoons and evenings (6:30 Fri, 9:00 Sat, 2:00 and 7:00 pm Sun, 6:30 Mon, 9:00 Tues, 6:30 Wed, 4:00 and 9:00 Thurs).

Bridges Not Walls

September 5, Sunday – 6pm
Olympia.
Call 943-8642 for location.

Monthly meeting regarding protecting immigrants' rights and dignity, regardless of legal status.

TLMCLC Labor Day Picnic

September 6, Monday - 11am - 4pm
Tumwater Historic Park,
777 Simmons St. SW (next to Henderson house)

Thurston-Lewis-Mason Central Labor Council annual Labor Day Picnic. Bring the family for free food, refreshments and children's entertainment. For more information, call 360-520-9575.

Focusing On Fresh

September 7, Tuesday -- 5:30– 8:30pm
GRuB 2016 Elliott Ave NW, Olympia

Do you want to cook dishes with fresh, high quality ingredients that will turn out great on the first try? Join Produce Buyer Erin Majors and learn her method of building meals around produce that looks and tastes its best. She will show you how to search online for simple, highly rated recipes that showcase fresh produce and are nutritious and easy to prepare. Taught by co-op staff member Erin Majors.

Vigil at State Capitol Steps - Mourns Washington State's Next Execution

September 9, Thursday – 7pm-Midnight
State Capitol Building's Steps

A somber and mostly silent vigil will mourn Washington State's next execution, the fifth since 1993. The vigil will extend until a few minutes after the State intends to kill Cal Brown at the Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla. In case this execution is stayed or postponed, the vigil will begin as scheduled, because people oppose the death penalty overall, not just in this particular case, but it would end in mid-evening. "The death penalty perpetuates the cycle of violence," said Glen Anderson, a member of the sponsoring organization, the Olympia Fellowship of Reconciliation's Committee for Alternatives to the Death Penalty. "Murder is wrong, whether committed by an individual or by the government. Two wrongs don't make a right." "The State of Washington, which prides itself on being a civilized place, has been pre-meditating killing Mr. Brown since sentencing him in 1993," Anderson added. "Worldwide," he said, "139 countries have abolished the death penalty in law or practice, leaving the U.S. as nearly the only modern democracy that still practice the death penalty extensively. As a lifelong Washingtonian, I'm appalled that our government would do such a thing. We urge the public to abolish this barbaric practice."

5th Annual Olympia Family Barter Faire

September 10-12, Friday-Sunday – 10am
Nature's Creation Organic Farm
3210 W Deckerville Rd" Elma WA
45 Minutes from Olympia

What is a barter faire? It is a two-day event where local and regional vendors will come together in a family style gathering to barter their crafts, produce, cuisine, skills, and collections of stuff. The location will be in a beautiful rural spot near Olympia. There will be camping and daytime visitors, singing, dancing, music, conversation, and many volunteer opportunities.

What's the Mission of the Faire? The Olympia Family Barter Faire is being created to build community, support a local economy, provide educational opportunities through workshops and skill shares, promote the arts, and work towards local sustainability. Our events will encompass values that reflect a respect for diversity and the vision of a socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable society. Tickets are now available for presale at www.buyolympia.com. Presale tickets are $25 for the weekend and they include camping for one person Friday and Saturday night (they will be $30 at the event). Day Passes (10am-11pm) will be available at the entrance for $15. For more information contact olybarterfaire@gmail.com

A Table For Olympia

September 11, Saturday – 4-8pm
5th Avenue between Franklin & Washington Streets.

Community potluck in downtown Olympia. To bring the local community together for one great night of food and fun. Sponsored by the Volunteer Center of Thurston, Mason and Lewis Counties and the Olympia Action Network. We Will Bring: Tables and Seating for 200, Artesian Well Water, Entertainment, Games. You Will Bring: A potluck dish to share, Your own plate, napkin, cutlery, cup

Camp Chair. You Should Not Bring: Four legged friends with or without fur, Drinks. To help offset the cost of the event, there will be Non alcoholic beverages for sale and a wine and beer garden close by.

Lewis County Fellowship of Reconciliation "Fire Mountain FOR" Monthly Meeting

September 11, Saturday – 1-3pm
Santa. Lucia Coffeehouse,
Locust & Tower,. Centralia,

Following 12 noon to 1 pm peace vigil nearby in Washington Park on Pearl Street. Info Larry Kerschner 807-5106 peacepoet@gmail.com or June Butler 748-9658 juneb2@earthlink.net

Friendly Supper Club

September 11, Saturday – 6:30pm

Potluck dinner for people of all ages, colors and religious backgrounds: Call 456-2865 for info and directions.

Food Preservation: Drying

September 12, Sunday – 3–6pm
Fertile Ground
311 9th Ave SE, Olympia

Learn the easy way to preserve the bounty of summer with Food Dehydration. We will also create our own tasty energy bar and camp food without the packaging and expense of prepared store bought items. Taught by Co-op staff person Kim Langston

Olympia Fellowship Of Reconciliation Summer Social

September 12, Sunday -- 3- 6pm
Yauger Park in West Olympia

Enjoy picnic foods and social time. For more info contact Rozanne 705-8520 rozannerants@yahoo.com

Mohandas K. Gandhi, the Mahatma ("Great Soul) with Bernie Meyer

September 12, Sunday 4pm
Unitarian Universalist Church of Vancouver
4505 East 18th Street
Vancouver, WA

Experience this powerful presentation that conveys Gandhi's message with depth and honesty – and in character. This is part of the "Inquiring Mind" series from the Humanities Washington. Info: www.humanities.org/inquiring mind

National Organization for Women (NOW)

September 14, Tuesday – 7 pm
Traditions Café,
5th & Water SW, Olympia

Monthly Meeting. Info: Linda 357-7272

South Sound Clean Clothes Campaign

September 14, Tuesday – 7pm
Traditions Café,
5th & Water SW.

Recognize to stop sweatshops: formed in 2000 to address sweatshop issues and has focused on getting public institutions to adopt sweatshop free purchasing practices. Info: Dick Meyer 705-2819 and www.southsoundcleanclothes.org

Sort and box medical supplies for other countries

September 18, Saturday – 9am - 1pm.
Providence Health International
2601 Williamette Drive NE, Suite G, Lacey

Catholic Health United for Medical Assistance (CHUMA). For information, contact Ray Reyes 493-5641 raymond.reyes@providence.org

Yard Waste Composting

September 18, Saturday 10am
Thurston County Extension
4131 Mud Bay Road West Olympia

Thurston County Master Composters are offering free composting workshop.

Pre- registration is not required. More info at http://thurston.wsu.edu

Bridges Not Walls works for immigrant rights and dignity

September 19, Sunday – 6pm
Mason County Literacy
133 West Railroad Ave. Shelton
(360) 426-9733

Believing that immigrants, regardless of legal status, deserve to be treated with dignity. Carpool at 5:15pm from downtown Olympia's mural at Capitol & State. For information call 943-8642

Thurston-Santo Tomas (Nicaragua) Sister County Association

September 20, Monday – 6:30pm

Monthly potluck & meeting..Began an ongoing relationship 21 years ago during wartime. Come be part of it! For information and location, call 943-8642.

"A Day for Africa"

September 24-25, Friday-Saturday – 10am-5pm
Comfort Inn Hotel & Conference Center
1620 74th Ave SW, Tumwater.

The African Affairs Council of Washington State invites everyone to the 6th annual "A Day for Africa." The theme for 2010 is "Africa Matters!" The event embraces the many efforts of individuals and organizations who relate to Africa and its 53 nations. Enjoy connecting with people from many nations, local and regional organizations, African music, an African market, display tables, educational activities, and more. For information call 438-7087 or 280-3843.

One Day Biointensive Gardening Workshop with John Jeavons

September 25, Saturday--8:30-5:30pm
Wendell Berry Community Garden
928 Wilson St NE, Olympia

Host: Sustainable South Sound

The GROW BIOINTENSIVE method gives farmers and gardeners of all skill levels the potential to use up to 67-88% less water, 50% less purchased fertilizer, and 94-99% less energy per unit of production while creating a substantial increase in soil fertility and yields!** In this workshop, John will share eight essential aspects of the GROW BIOINTENSIVE method including: Deep Soil Preparation, Raised Beds, Composting, Intensive Planting, Companion Planting, Carbon Farming, Calorie Farming, Use of Open-Pollinated Seeds, and A Whole-System Farming Method. John will also provide time for questions and answers concerning small-scale farming, long-term sustainable soil fertility, climate and market challenges. To register visit http://johnjeavons.info/workshop-main3.html

Sort & Box Medical Supplies For Other Countries

September 27, Monday -- 6-8pm
Providence Health International
2601 Williamette Drive NE, Suite G, Lacey
Catholic Health United for Medical Assistance (CHUMA). For information, contact Ray Reyes 493-5641 raymond.reyes@providence.org

Children's peace-related art during Arts Walk in downtown Olympia

October 1, Friday

Every Arts Walk, Kristen Dahle arranges for local school kids to generate art on some theme related to peace or social **justice** and display it in the window of Buck's 5th Avenue, 209 5th Ave SE. For information contact 357-3553 kjdahle@comcast.net

Linda Allen's Singing at the Threshold Workshop

October 2, Saturday – 12:30-4pm
Priory Spirituality Center,
500 College Street NE, Lacey

Linda Allen, who grew up in Olympia, and other women with compassionate voices sing at the bedside of people who are seriously ill or dying. For information contact www.lindasongs.com (360) 438-2595

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September 2010

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